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TERMINATION AND RELOCATION: FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY IN THE
1950's

The University of Oklahoma

PH.D.

1980

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

TERMINATION AND RELOCATION: FEDERAL
INDIAN POLICY IN THE 1950S

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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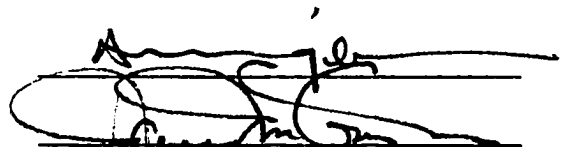


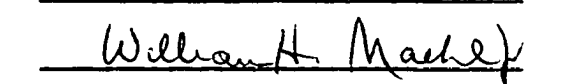
DONALD LEE FIXICO

Norman, Oklahoma

1980

TERMINATION AND RELOCATION: FEDERAL
INDIAN POLICY IN THE 1950S

APPROVED BY

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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PREFACE

Termination, a word connoting final extinction, adequately describes federal Indian policy from World War II through the last years of the John F. Kennedy administration. During this period, 1945-1963, the United States Congress initiated legislative action abrogating federal recognition of Indian groups and responsibilities to Native Americans. Concurrently Congress funded the Bureau of Indian Affairs to initiate the Relocation Program, which assisted and supervised those Indians willing to remove from rural communities and reservations to urban areas for economic development.

The zenith of termination and relocation in federal-Indian relations occurred during the 1950s. More specifically, between 1954 and 1960, over 61 tribes, groups, communities, rancherias and allotments were terminated, and relocation effected one-half of the current total Indian population living in urban areas. Ironically termination was based on House Concurrent Resolution 108, which was approved in both houses of Congress--but never enacted into law. After World War II, federal supervision of Indian affairs floundered without direction and seemed confusing. No legislation was enacted to define federal Indian policy the next decade when H. C. R. 108 set the foundation for termination in the 1950s.

Termination and relocation were not new concepts in federal-Indian relations. Yet, it is important to realize that termination has been interpreted ambiguously; having positive and negative effects also. Origins of termination and relocation can be traced back to the earliest negotiations of American colonial officials with Indians of the Atlantic Coast. Treaties resulted in termination, or reduction of Indian domains as Anglo-American settlements displaced and removed the native population westward.

Termination has been interpreted as being good and bad for Native Americans. Usually this policy has been viewed as having ill effects on Indians. Termination has been identified as genocide of Native Americans during the Indian wars, liquidation of reservations, and dissolution of treaties. Abrogation of Indian rights, withdrawal of federal responsibilities to the native population and reduction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs have also been depicted as forms of termination for the purpose of mainstreaming Indians. Finally, termination has been defined as extinction of Native American cultures as the ultimate move towards transforming the Red Man into a white American.

In contrast to the negative views of termination, the federal government and Anglo-American viewpoints have suggested that the Indian way of life was no longer viable--especially in the 20th century. Essentially termination would liberate Native Americans from their trust status as "second class" citizens to enjoy equal opportunities and privileges that other Americans had under the Constitution. In order for American Indians to survive in a modernized society after World War II, Indian cultures had to be altered. Certain American cultural

items and values were adopted. Emphasis on education, acquiring materialistic items of white American culture, and competing with other Americans for jobs and positions in society were viewed as Americanization of Indians.

In the process of studying termination and relocation, the former has had the greater impact on Native Americans since World War II. The spectrum of definitions of termination necessitates a thorough study of the positive and negative repercussions of federal Indian policy during the 1950s. Obviously this study of termination and relocation does not explore indepth the details of legislation affecting each tribe. Rather, the purpose of this work focuses on an overview and the significant repercussions of this crucial period of federal Indian policy.

Unfortunately, too often literature about American Indians has been written from the non-Indian viewpoint with disregard for the viewpoint of the people who were being written about. In studies of federal-Indian relations, the perspective of the federal government tends to neglect the responses and views of Native Americans. To provide the best comprehensive study of federal-Indian relations during this critical period, the viewpoint of the federal government, public opinion of non-Indians, and the Indian point of view are given to provide an overall balanced perspective. Most of all, evaluation of the repercussions of termination and relocation of federal Indian policy in the 1950s is essential for understanding the problems of American Indians in this recent past as they prepare for the future.

Donald L. Fixico

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This study of federal Indian policy from World War II through the John Kennedy administration has demanded the attention of numerous individuals at various research institutions throughout the country. I have the greatest admiration for these individuals who are highly knowledgeable of research materials on Indian affairs. Although the following list is lengthy I would like to take this opportunity to thank each of these individuals for their gracious services in directing me to needed research information.

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To
Micheline

TERMINATION AND RELOCATION: FEDERAL

INDIAN POLICY IN THE 1950s

CHAPTER I

THE IMPACT OF WORLD WAR II ON INDIAN/WHITE RELATIONS

American Indian involvement in World War II effected an extraordinary social change in relations between Indians and Anglo-Americans. During the war the red and white races came in close contact with each other as both groups acted on behalf of the American cause. Native Americans patriotically left their reservations to work in war factories and to serve in the armed forces. Their resoluteness in carrying out war duties was impressive and many Americans altered their impressions of Indians during this time. The war, in effect, served to unite Indians and whites. The Indians' dedication and involvement during the war, however, would later prove detrimental to them.

The transition from reservation life to mainstream society was a difficult process for Indians, especially rural Indians who found it a shocking experience. The mainstream culture and views which they had to adapt to clashed with their traditions. Through mobilization Indians came in contact with members of other tribes and they began to identify

with each other. They could relate to each other's problems in dealing with the dilemma of tribal traditions vs. mainstream culture. The problems associated with adaptation served to unite Indian people from different tribes.

Federal legislation during World War II served to further unite Indians. The United States government was under considerable pressure to protect its citizenry and Allied interest in the war. Federal spending for defense was deemed crucial and federal officials reduced various domestic programs including those in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Although federal officials declared that they were genuinely concerned with Indians' welfare, they explained that services to Native Americans had to be cut back as a means to increase funding of the defense program. Indian lands held in trust were non-taxable and supervision of Indian properties were time consuming and expensive.¹ The pressures of war to decrease domestic programs can be viewed as the earliest motivators of termination which would become federal Indian policy for the next decade.

The war and threat of reduction in services to Indians unified Indian people. A concerted effort by the Five Civilized Tribes can be seen in a letter dated January 18, 1944, sent by an Oklahoma Bureau of Indian Affairs superintendent to Cherokee Principal Chief J. Bartley Milam. The Superintendent wrote that the Five Civilized Tribes were opposed to Senate Bill 1311 which proposed to remove trust restrictions from Native Americans. "It was a general feeling that . . . it would be a very short time before they lost all their property."² During this same period there was also a distinct nationwide Indian opposition to government abandonment of Indian schools and hospitals.

Federal legislation at this time brought Indian people together at least in identifying common causes and problems. In response to changing federal Indian policy a group of Indians from 27 different states organized the National Congress of American Indians in 1944. Indians representing over 55 different tribes met in Denver, Colorado, to protect the interests of all American Indians. This pan-Indian effort, after so many had failed in the past, grew in membership and became a primary organization for the birth of the Red Power Movement in the 1960s.

It is ironic that the federal government was threatening Indians by terminating services to them while a significant number of Indians were fighting for the United States. During World War II an estimated 25,000 American Indians served in the Armed Forces of the United States. Approximately 22,000 served in the Army on the front lines, 2,000 in the Navy, 120 in the Coast Guard, and 730 served in the Marines.³ While American Indians were subject to the draft, they eagerly volunteered. Many Indian men believed that military service in World War II might be their last chance to prove themselves as warriors. Even old Navajo men hurried to the draft board stations carrying their guns asking "where was the enemy?"⁴ Indians felt it was their duty to serve in the United States armed forces, and there was the underlying fear that domination by a foreign nation could be far worse.

The role of American Indian women in the war was equally contributory. An estimated 200 to 300 Indian women joined the nurses' corps, military auxiliaries, Red Cross and the American Women's Voluntary Service. In Wisconsin on the Menominee Reservation, 50 women replaced

men at the tribal sawmill. In Minnesota crews of two women and one man planted young trees to replace those cut down in the Red Lake forest. Indian women also worked at fire lookout stations on the Colville and Klamath Reservations in Washington and Oregon.⁵ Farther northward Eskimo and Indian women and girls manufactured skin clothing, mittens, mukluks, moccasins, snowshoes and other wearing apparel for American soldiers serving in cold climates and at high altitudes.⁶ Indian women also worked in war factories as riveters, inspectors, sheet metal workers and machinists. Approximately 40 to 50,000 Indians worked in aircraft factories, in other war industries, and on the railroads.⁷ Aside from physical contributions to the war effort, American Indians invested more than \$17 million of restricted funds in war bonds.⁸

Mothers of soldiers devoutly supported their sons in war. In rural Indian communities and on reservations, they organized War Mothers Clubs to write letters and send gifts to sons, husbands, brothers and uncles in the service. Indian servicemen slain in combat were honored in the traditional way. Returning warriors were honored at ceremonial dances including modified victory or scalp dances. Through service in the Armed Forces Indian men were able to prove themselves as warriors in combat and to be honored by their tribal members. A large percentage of American Indian men have military service records because Indians served in the Armed Forces not only in World War II but in the Korean War and the Vietnam War. Indian involvement in these wars has perpetuated the warrior tradition.

In comparison with other ethnic Americans, more Indians fought in World War II on a percentage basis of populations than any other ethnic

group. Ironically this patriotic effort was not always welcomed. Since World War I the American public and fellow American soldiers discriminated against Indian servicemen. In the barracks the Indian G. I. was ridiculed with name calling such as "Chief," "Geronimo," or just "Hey Indian." Frequently the Red G. I. enjoyed being called "Chief" for distinction in accord with tradition, but he later despised the name. He was often the butt of jokes in the barracks and he fought fellow soldiers in bars as well as the enemy on the battlefields.

In combat things were different. Indians were considered particularly effective in combat situations and fellow American soldiers noted that it was comforting to be next to an Indian whose ancestors
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were fierce fighters. For Indian G. I.'s war conditions differed little from reservation life. Coarse food, long hours, and lack of privacy
10
were no hardship for Indian servicemen. Reservation life was hard and Indian soldiers found they could easily adjust to the rigorous lifestyle of a serviceman. The mental anguish due to war conditions was much harder for the white American soldier to cope with than for the Indian who adjusted more readily to oppressive conditions. His mental discipline was ingrained from generations of his people who fought in all kinds of adverse weather conditions and at irregular hours with little food or rest.

The performance of Native Americans in World War II was admirable. Indian servicemen accounted for 71 Air Medals, 51 Silver Stars, 47 Bronze Stars and two Congressional Medals of Honor, the last awarded to Lieutenant Ernest Childers, an Oklahoma Creek, and Lieutenant
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Jack C. Montgomery, an Oklahoma Cherokee. More Native American service-

men received medals for their performance during the war, but the Bureau of Indian Affairs was not able to identify all servicemen who were Native American. Several years after the war President Dwight Eisenhower commented on the fighting ability and performance of Indians in World War II, "Never did I hear a complaint about the battle conduct of the North American Indian."¹²

This is in face of the fact that too often Indians were assigned as point or scouts on patrols. They were sacrificed as the first to encounter the enemy. Interestingly, 90 percent of the Indians in the service were in the Army.

Navajo Code Talkers, too, were recognized for outstanding performance in World War II. They delivered strategic messages via radio in their native language which was also coded on the battlefield. Frequently their efforts insured the success of Allied attacks against the Germans and the Japanese. A small group of about 28 fluent Navajo native speakers was trained in the Marine Corps to code messages in their language. Navajo was one of the few Indian languages that Europeans had not yet studied. Only a few missionaries and storekeepers were able to speak Navajo.¹³

The most famous American Indian to serve in the Second World War was Ira Hayes, a Pima and Private First Class in the Marines. Hayes was one of the six men to raise the American flag on the summit of Mount Suribachi at Iwo Jima which became a memorial statue of inspiration during World War II.¹⁴ The story of Ira Hayes after his return from the war, however, is a sad one. After the war, Ira Hayes returned to the desolate Pima Reservation in Arizona. He was unable to interact successfully with his own people nor was he able to adjust to the mainstream

society. Although he had experienced the world outside his homeland during the war and had begun acquiring a different lifestyle, he felt alienated from the mainstream society. He was unable to integrate into an American society that was not ready to fully accept him. His people, however, felt he was best equipped to represent them in Washington D. C. and sent him as a delegate. Hayes was rejected by his own people when they claimed that he failed to represent them. Hayes' own confusion and loss of perspective led him to alcoholism. He was found dead of exposure and alcoholism shortly afterwards on a black night in January, 1955,
 15
 in the mountains of Arizona. He died a broken man.

The post war experience of Ira Hayes was representative of the experiences of many returning American Indians. Military service or working in war industries had thrust them into a social maelstrom that contrasted dramatically with their accustomed lifestyle. Upon returning to their native communities, veterans found it difficult to fit in; many became estranged from their people.

Elders claimed that the returned veterans were contaminated with the outside world and had to be ceremonially purified. In the Southwest, among the Pueblo tribes, dances and ceremonial rites were held for each G. I. to rid his being of the death spirits of Germans and Japanese. Family members customarily avoided their beloved returned warriors until after purification rites were performed.

The closing of the war began a new era of federal-Indian relations. As Indians and Anglo-Americans came into closer contact government officials concluded that Native Americans were little different from other people. They believed that many Indians had been assimilated

into mainstream society and no longer needed special services. The Indian view was divided. Those who agreed with federal officials were primarily mixed-bloods, while those who believed that Indians were still considerably different from white Americans were full-bloods.

Many mixed-bloods stated that they were tired of government restrictions on their properties and wanted them lifted. They professed that the federal trust status made Indians second-class citizens. The majority of this group of Indians was ready to join the mainstream society, but the full-blood faction objected. Robert Goombi, a Kiowa from Mountain View, Oklahoma stated, "I don't think our Indians are competent to rub elbows with our white brothers."¹⁶ Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier agreed that Indians still needed the protection of the federal government to avoid exploitation until they were educated and skilled in crafts enabling them to work and until they were able to handle their own affairs successfully.

During 12 years of service as Commissioner during the 1930s and early 1940s, a period of Indian policy reform, Collier found it difficult to deal with Congress without the support of President Franklin Roosevelt. Roosevelt's death in 1945 proved a serious loss to Collier and to Indians. After Roosevelt's death Collier encountered many obstacles in his attempts to initiate further Indian reform legislation. One Native American wrote Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma to express his deepest sympathy and his concern for Indians in the future. "I am taking the privilege of speaking for all my Indian people of our land, that in the passing of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, we have lost a great friend. The news of his death personally was a shock to me. I don't know what

will become of our people in the future. We all know the long-range planning for the welfare of our people he had established. There will never be a greater man in any age to do justice for them." ¹⁷

The war years had overshadowed Indian affairs as national attention and federal spending focused on the country's survival. Collier became frustrated and discouraged in dealing with an economy-minded Republican Congress. He disagreed with President Truman's Cold War Policy which hindered his efforts to improve conditions for ¹⁸ Indians. The Commissioner was severely criticized for attempting to initiate reform programs for Indians too quickly and his ousting of B.I.A. workers, whom Collier deemed incompetent, made him unpopular. Rumors on Capitol Hill pictured Collier as a dreamer whose reorganization of tribal governments was communistic. Some criticized Collier's administration as being too idealogical; even some Indians agreed. Collier's conflict with Congress reached the point that other Indian Bureau officials had to represent the B.I.A. before congressional committees because Collier was so disliked. In 1945 John Collier resigned as ¹⁹ the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Collier's resignation was another serious loss for Indians. Representative Karl Mundt of South Dakota, vice-chairman of a House subcommittee, upon investigating Indian living conditions, stated, ". . . Mr. Collier has stimulated considerable improvement in the living conditions of the Indians and that he genuinely had the interest of the ²⁰ Indian at heart." The question facing Indians was whether the next commissioner would be genuinely concerned with their well-being.

Following his resignation Collier planned to extend his efforts ²¹ to all Indians of the Western Hemisphere. In a farewell speech to the

governors and officers of the New Mexico and Arizona Pueblos and to the All-Pueblo Council in February, 1945, Collier stated, "If it had not been for you, I would never have started to wage my part of that battle for Indian rights and hopes which commenced in 1922. You are like my own people and my own home . . . Now, I go again outside the Indian Bureau, but I shall go on trying to help you and all the Indians and the Indian Service as well . . . As for myself, I am not giving up on your cause or the cause of all the Indians when I cease to be Indian Commissioner. The years of my life that remain--few years or a good many years, who knows--belong to you."

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During early 1945 President Truman selected William A. Brophy over William Zimmerman and Chester A. Farris to replace Collier as the Commissioner. In the Southwest where Brophy had become well acquainted with Indian people his appointment made the United Pueblos uneasy. The Gallup Independent reported on January 31 that Brophy's marriage to Dr. Sophie D. Aberle disturbed the Indians because of her unpopularity as Superintendent of the Indian group. The Southwestern Pueblos iterated that this relationship could handicap Brophy's administration as the new Indian commissioner.

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Brophy's appointment received the support of the majority of the Native American population. Those who opposed him claimed that an Indian should have been selected. The Albuquerque Tribune reported on February 27 that some Indians feared that Brophy might continue a policy of paternalism. A few Congressmen like William Schwabe of Oklahoma also asserted that an Indian should have been chosen as Indian Commissioner. One citizen held that Congressman William Stigler of Oklahoma should have

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been chosen as he was part Choctaw Indian and was concerned with just treatment of Native Americans. Brophy was criticized for having influence²⁵ in Washington, and not being qualified as Indian commissioner.

Brophy was a native New Yorker transplanted to New Mexico. While living in the southwestern state, he acquired a broad experience in working with local Indians. A former attorney for the Pueblo Indians for nine years, Brophy also served as a special representative for the Secretary of the Interior for Puerto Rican affairs. He was a youthful, sincere-looking, dark-haired man of Irish background. Highly intelligent,²⁶ the new commissioner was charming and dedicated to his work.

Commissioner Brophy received wide support from Native Americans. In one letter dated April 2, 1945, which the Commissioner wrote to a married couple at the Klamath Agency in Oregon to thank them for their support, he stated, "The response of the Indians throughout the country to my appointment . . . makes me feel the great responsibility which I now²⁷ have." In another letter dated May 4 Brophy wrote, "I hope that I shall perform my duties with wisdom and in a manner to advance the interests of²⁸ the Indian people."

Without Collier and Roosevelt on the scene, government officials began pushing the idea that the Indians' experience in World War II indicated that Native Americans were capable of becoming assimilated into urban life with other American citizens. From that point on American Indians had to fight for their rights. "The rights of the Indian are just as sacred as those of any other person. Because of the lack of legislative²⁹ authority . . . the Indian has to fight his own battle."

The idea of emancipating Indians from their trust status began to take root in Congress. Congressman William Stigler of Oklahoma wrote

a friend on July 13, 1945, that committees on Indian affairs in the Senate and the House of Representatives were entertaining this idea. "We have some very outstanding men on the committees of each body--men who recognize the need to do something about the emancipation of the Indian."³⁰

The Albuquerque Tribune reported on the same day that a change in the administration of Indian affairs was occurring. Commissioner Brophy was quoted as saying that he had studied the supervision of Indian affairs and said he could get the maximum efficiency if more authority was distributed to the field workers of the B.I.A. who dealt directly with the Indians.³¹ This adjustment would enable local Indian problems to be resolved faster. By coming into contact with Indian people and expressing concern, Brophy became increasingly popular with Indians. The Blackfeet, after receiving a visit from the Indian Commissioner to their reservation in Northwestern Montana, adopted Brophy into the tribe and honored him with gifts and the name, "Mountain Eagle."³²

Brophy informed the tribes that he planned to visit other Indian and native groups in Alaska during the next few weeks. The Commissioner also praised the war record of American Indians. He stressed that Indians had gained valuable experience from the war, and that they should use newly acquired training and skills to better their economy.³³ But he stated, "whether they will be content at home is a question."

Brophy's popularity increased Indian confidence in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. While many Indian ex-servicemen wanted trust restrictions on their property removed, they did not realize the dangers of termination of trust status. Brophy's move to decentralize the B.I.A.

in Washington and to delegate more authority to superintendents and Bureau officials in the field was also not foreseen as action to do away with central authority of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Obviously the dissolution of the Bureau of Indian Affairs meant a cut in federal spending which would help the United States government during the recovery period in the postwar years.

In late August, 1945, Commissioner Brophy completed his visitations of Indian reservations throughout the United States and Alaska. The Albuquerque Journal reported on August 24 that the Commissioner noted maintenance of roads and other facilities for Indian communities had been neglected during the war. But with the personnel of the B.I.A. cut during the war and less federal funding, the Indian Service had done a respectable job. ³⁴ Brophy asserted that much improvements could be made in ³⁵ Indian affairs if the Bureau of Indian Affairs was reorganized. The Indian Service could supervise Indian affairs more effectively and provide maximum services to the Native American population. During the course of reorganization consideration of removal of trust restrictions on Indians would be studied.

Joseph Bruner, President of the newly founded American Indian Federation, supported the view of emancipating Indians from federal supervision. On September 3, 1945, he wrote Congressman Stigler asking, "Don't you think Congressman, that his contribution (Indian veteran) towards the winning of World Wars I and II, alone entitle him to the enjoyment of FREEDOM at HOME from government supervision and direction by people less capable than himself, and a final settlement with his guardian-government?" ³⁶ While asking for freedom from government control, Bruner

criticized the federal government for its handling of Indian affairs and requested the Indian claims against the United States be presented.

On September 12, 1945, House Resolution 237 to support Indian claims was introduced in the first session of the 79th Congress. The bill proposed to establish a "congressional committee to make a study of claims of Indian tribes against the United States and to investigate the administration of Indian affairs."³⁷ This proposed legislation was one of the earliest attempts after the war to form the Indian Claims Commission. In essence the proposed legislation stated that Indians would be compensated for the government's abuse and exploitation of the tribes, and that tribes would finally be dealt with fairly. Enactment of such legislation was in reality a form of termination--by settling all claims the government could "get out of the Indian business." The measure also called for an investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to study which services there could be terminated.

Later on September 27, 1945, Congressman Wesley D'Ewart of Montana introduced House Resolution 4196 in Congress. This was one of the most serious proposals affecting Indians submitted during the postwar period. The bill attempted to remove federal restrictions on Indians and possibly cut back on federal spending. The measure was directed primarily at Indian veterans "to provide for removal of restrictions on property of Indians who serve in the armed forces."³⁸ From another perspective, the proposed bill was an effort to satisfy discontented Indian veterans who could not make a living from their lands.

The new commissioner worked diligently to improve the conditions of Indians. "The purpose of the office of Indian Affairs is, in my opinion,"

stated Brophy, "to give the Indians the same opportunities other Americans enjoy . . . the United States is under obligation to provide hospitalization and education for the Indians, and . . . a chance at any occupation they may choose."³⁹ Commissioner Brophy also stated that Indian ex-servicemen should have "full benefit of the loan and other features of the G. I. Bill of Rights."⁴⁰ But helping Indian veterans to find jobs was a major problem for the Indian Bureau.⁴¹

On October 25, 1945, Congressman Henry M. Jackson of Washington introduced House Resolution 4497 in the first session of the 79th Congress "to create an Indian Claims Commission, to provide for the powers, duties, and functions thereof . . ."⁴² The bill was introduced as another attempt to compensate the Indian tribes once and for all for past injustices. Later in December Congressman Jackson submitted a report to the Committee on Indian Affairs in the House of Representatives to explain a need for creating such an Indian Claims Commission.⁴³ Claim settlements could give Indians opportunities for better lives.

The economic conditions of reservations did not present an attractive atmosphere for Indian veterans. Most persons on reservations experienced extreme poverty and the return of soldiers placed an added burden on the already limited resources to provide for all. On the Navajo Reservation alone with an estimated population of 60,000 in 1946, only about 5,300 of the 11,000 families were able to farm and these Indians averaged only \$189 in crops consumed or sold.⁴⁴ While the Navajos and other Indians experienced poor economic and health conditions, Americans were criticizing Indians for not being more independent and improving their impoverished state. When one Navajo applied for relief at a Red Cross office, the worker asked:

"Why don't you get a job?"

"I can't. I feel tired all the time," replied the Indian.

"I can't put that on the record. What do you mean?"
the worker asked.

"Well you see--sometimes I don't eat for two or three days," the Navajo said.⁴⁵

Many returned veterans became frustrated with reservation life. Unable to find work on or near reservations they moved to cities seeking jobs. Indians who had worked in factories during the war and returned to reservations also were forced to travel to urban areas to find jobs to support themselves. After the war boom and the demand for production decreased, factories closed and Indians were usually the first to be laid off. The Indians left with some mechanical skill, but not enough to be hired for permanent jobs. Despite the fact that unstable, uncertain conditions awaited them in the cities, the economic pressure forced many Indians to migrate from the reservations to cities. N. Scott Momaday's House Made of Dawn, A Pulitzer Prize winning novel, is a classic descriptive example of an Indian veteran who experienced harsh urbanized relocation in a city.

Much of the younger Indian generation was curious about cities after hearing stories from friends and relatives; many left the reservations for Chicago, Dallas, Los Angeles and other cities. John Collier in observing this Indian migration exclaimed, "the war has brought about the greatest exodus of Indians from reservations that has ever taken place."⁴⁶ A news release from the Department of the Interior years later reported "World War II demonstrated to many Indians who participated in the various phases of its activities, both in the armed services and in defense industries, the futility of attempting to maintain an isolated

system of primitive community life. The outside world did offer to the participating Indians exciting, desirable and worthwhile possibilities for individual achievement."⁴⁷

Native Americans faced a dilemma at the close of the war. While many chose to try urban living, they experienced difficulties in adjusting to 8-to-5 working hours, noise of the city and its pace of living. For those who remained on reservations, life was depressing as the land with depleted farming and grazing potential supported fewer of them. Mainly, overpopulation forced Indians to urban areas. In either case, the proposed Indian Claims Commission augured improvement for Indians in the postwar years.

Commissioner Brophy asserted that Indians should have the right to present claims against the United States. On January 17, 1946, he stated in an address before the Indian Rights Association, "For years many Indian tribes have been claiming that the United States, either by violation of treaty or agreement or by mishandling their resources or money has become indebted to them, and that they have just claims against the United States Government."⁴⁸ Brophy also noted that the existing procedure for handling Indian claims was a waste of time and futile effort. According to procedure, each Indian claim was presented before Congress as a bill to settle the claim according to the jurisdiction of the United States Court of Claims. Brophy warned that some Indians hoping to get rich, would meanwhile become docile, hindering their progress towards self-improvement.⁴⁹

Creation of an Indian Claims Commission to settle all tribal claims against the United States for compensation was one of the few

opportunities for Indian achievement and independence. In this way Indians would gain revenue to develop properties and become economically self-sustaining. Harvey Smith, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, sent a memorandum to President Truman on February 21, 1946, describing such a commission. The Indian Claims Commission was sponsored in House Resolution 4497 to establish a "fact-finding commission to determine the merits of all outstanding Indian claims, subject to appropriate legal review by the Court of Claims."⁵⁰ The Indian committees in Congress could then move on to only the serious matters in Indian affairs, and members would be free to concentrate on business other than Indian affairs.

Harry S. Truman, a Democratic president who advocated civil rights for minorities, was unpopular with the Republican dominated Congress. His appointment of Brophy as commissioner, however, was supported by many Indians because they believed that he held the same principles as Truman. "The Indian G. I. is entitled to the same benefits, rights and privileges as any other veteran under the bill of rights," Brophy stated to a senator. "Unfortunately, however, Indian veterans are experiencing some difficulty in obtaining loans from banks and lending agencies . . . they are reluctant to lend money to Indians."⁵¹ Bankers were not sure that monthly payments on loans would be made punctually, and that the Indians could be trusted. Most Indians were considered poor financial risks. Full-bloods had the most difficulty in obtaining loans. Mixed-bloods who showed little or no Indian blood did not claim their Indian ancestry to avoid discrimination. They were usually better educated than the full-bloods and blended easier into Anglo-American society. During the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s many mixed bloods were

reluctant to admit that they were part Indian due to an inferiority complex fostered by the mainstream society's prejudices and misconceptions.

Congress sought to enact legislation to provide full civil rights to Native Americans, but there were Indian populations juxtaposed to white communities where Indians were treated as "Second-class" citizens. "Since I live in Arizona and am Apache Indian I have no say in the voting and our Senators will not pay attention to me," wrote Lester Oliver to Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma. "Why don't a veteran of World War II have the right to vote? We pay taxes on a lot of things such as gasoline, food, clothing and income but not on Government land have the same rights as the White man who does not own property in the State of Arizona. We also have Racial prejudice here on our Reservation. We have Whites here who don't like Indians but still stay here and make
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their living on Indian Service."

Obviously Indians had to assume more responsibility in Indian affairs. The Klamaths were one of the most progressive Indian groups. On May 6, 1946, Boyd Jackson represented the tribe in a meeting with
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Commissioner Brophy and Associate Commissioner William Zimmerman. Jackson set forth the desire of the Klamaths to have the Klamath Welfare Bill, Senate Bill 794, passed to provide funding to tribal members for those who needed capital to develop properties. Jackson stressed that the Klamaths wanted more responsibility in handling their affairs and greater participation in formulation of policies affecting them. This proposal was deferred.

Despite the difficulties Indians were encountering in handling their affairs, many congressmen were not in favor of the creation of an

Indian Claims Commission. On May 10, 1946, Congressman O. K. Chandler of Oklahoma wrote Congressman George Schwabe of Oklahoma criticizing the continuance and direction that federal legislation was taking towards Indian affairs. He pointed out that present and proposed government responsibility for Indian affairs was too expensive and that the projected cost for another 50 years of supervision would be a half billion to two billion dollars. "They do not need a Federal guardian NOW," Chandler said of Indians, "nor will they need one for 'the next 50 years!'"⁵⁴

Despite Chandler's plea for retrenchment in Indian affairs on May 21 House Resolution 4497 proposing the creation of an Indian Claims Commission was reintroduced.⁵⁵

Many congressmen were in favor of an Indian Claims Commission because it would mean that a settlement of all claims would finally be made and the federal government "could get out of the Indian business." The mood of Congress was that Indians were now able to handle their affairs responsibly and no longer needed government supervision. On June 10, 1946, Oscar Chapman, the Acting Secretary of the Interior, wrote a friend describing the progress Indians were making in handling their affairs. Chapman explained that American Indians were taking more initiative in their affairs--meaning they needed less supervision. In evaluating the progress of American Indians, Chapman commented, "as individuals and as tribes, Indians have been gradually assuming more and more authority and responsibility."⁵⁶

Postwar federal supervision of Indian affairs was lax and undefined and an explicit federal Indian policy was needed. On June 13, 1946, Commissioner Brophy wrote Mrs. O. A. Rosborough, Chairman of the

Indian Welfare Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, informing her that there were no set federal guidelines for handling Indian affairs. He was referring especially to Indians wanting termination of trust status. Brophy believed that the complexity of Indian affairs would force Congress to study and enact legislation to set new policy and provide supervisory guidelines for Indian affairs.⁵⁷

The desire of some Indians to have trust restrictions removed from their properties led Congress to study Indian affairs. Reed Buzzard wrote Congressman Schwabe on June 22, 1946, complaining about the state of Indian affairs. "I am a Republican and an Indian, interested in the success of the Party and final settlement with the Indians," he stated. "This idea of going on forever with this Indian business is both silly and expensive."⁵⁸ Schwabe wrote back that he favored "to get rid of the Indian Bureau as fast as possible. It is a drain upon the taxpayers and . . . a poor guardian for the Indians. I think it tends to encourage paternalism and socialistic and . . . communistic thinking."⁵⁹

In a report, "Aspects of Indian Policy," to the 79th Congress, recommendations were made to dissolve the Indian Bureau. "The original purpose of the Indian Bureau was to help the Indian to become a citizen and it was intended as a service rather than as an administrative agency." The report continued, "Thus we see that although the original aim was to make the Indian a citizen the present aim appears to keep the Indian an Indian and to make him satisfied with the limitations of a primitive form of existence. The Bureau . . . has been concerned with building up a system instead of a service and to make itself self-perpetuating, and in accomplishing this purpose it has segregated the Indian from the

general citizenry, condemned him to an indefinite if not perpetual wardship, tied him to land in perpetuity, and forced a system of Bureau-controlled education and land use upon him." ⁶⁰ The report also called for the elimination of the Bureau of Indian Affairs at the end of three years.

Indian support of withdrawal of federal supervision of Indian affairs fueled the movement for termination. While some Indians were probably ready for assuming management of their affairs, they did not anticipate the negative impact that termination would have on the majority of the Indian population--destruction of Indian culture. Certainly as Indians made the transition towards white American standards they would forfeit retention of much of their traditions, while still remaining behind other American citizens in vocational training skills and education. The federal government was willing to invest millions of dollars in preparing Native Americans for assimilation into the mainstream.

On June 29, 1946, Congress received a veto from President Truman on H. B. 2678 to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear and adjudicate all claims of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation in Montana. The claims presented in the bill included "any lands taken from these Indians, including lands lost by erroneous surveys, or lands opened to settlement, lands lost by submergence resulting from the erection of reservoirs, without compensation and without consent of the Indians." ⁶¹ Truman explained that the ambiguity of the claims compelled him to reject the bill.

On July 15, 1946, Senator Joseph O'Mahoney of Wyoming submitted a report to the Senate Committee on Indian affairs concerning the creation

of the Indian Claims Commission. He supported the commission and provided a description of the structure of the proposed commission which in his judgment would provide for settlement of Indian claims against the United States. "The Commission will be composed of three commissioners, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate and would be equipped with the usual powers of a fact-finding commission to hold hearings and to examine the witnesses." ⁶² The Indian Claims Commission schedule was designed to allow tribes to submit their cases during the first five years of its existence. At the end of a second five-year period, the Commission was to have completed its study and judgement of ⁶³ claims.

Until the Indian Claims Commission could be voted on in Congress, Indian claims continued to be presented before the House of Representatives and the Senate as proposed legislation. One that the proposed Indian Claims Commission could have handled was the claim of the California Indians. On July 29, 1946, Robert W. Kenny, California Attorney General, wrote President Truman in support of the Indians, "In my opinion it affords the first satisfactory opportunity that the Indians of California have ever had for a complete presentation and final settlement of their claim for approximately \$35,000,000, unpaid balance upon their Treaty rights . . . I, therefore, urge you the favorable executive ⁶⁴ consideration upon this bill." The Attorney General also sent the President a booklet he had prepared on California Indians, revealing a shocking history of exploitation.

Interest groups who became aware of the Indians' plight and were knowledgeable of the wrongdoings to the Red Man supported H. R. 4497.

Organizations like the General Federation of Women's clubs agreed that Indians should be allowed to present claims against the United States. In a letter to President Truman on August 6, 1946, leaders of this group stated that a statute in 1863 barring all Indian treaty claims from coming before the U. S. Court of Claims was discrimination against Indians. Except for those Indian claims that were in Congress as special legislation, Indians had very little opportunity to exercise their constitutional rights. Therefore H. R. 4497 was imperative to permit Indians to exercise the right to present cases before the U. S. Court of Claims.⁶⁵

In a hearing in the Senate's Committee on Indian Affairs the bill was presented as an attempt to "facilitate and simplify the administration of Indian affairs."⁶⁶ The legislation was undoubtedly one of the early postwar termination efforts. To conclude federal responsibilities and obligations to Indians, Jackson had introduced House Resolution 4497 and both Houses in Congress approved it in the second session of the 79th Congress. The bill, "to create an Indian Claims Commission, to provide for the powers, duties and functions thereof, and for other purposes," was originally a reform effort that John Collier recommended in 1935.

During the discussion on the Indian Claims Commission Bill, it was brought to attention that a large amount of federal money would be spent to compensate tribes for past losses. Its enactment would reduce federal spending on Indian affairs, and yet it was a potentially expensive bill which Congress approved and passed as Public Law 726.⁶⁷ Ironically, earlier in the first session, two similar bills were introduced but they lacked approval. Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma had introduced

H. R. 1941 and Representative Usher Burdick of North Dakota introduced
⁶⁸
 H. R. 1198. Both failed to be approved due to budget cutbacks.

Speaking on the bill President Truman stated, "I am glad to sign my name to a measure which removes a lingering discrimination against our First Americans and gives them the same opportunities that our laws extend to all other American citizens to vindicate their property rights and contracts in the courts against violations by the Federal Government itself."⁶⁹ He added, "I hope that this bill will mark the beginning of a new era for our Indian citizens. They have valiantly served on every battle front. They have proved by their loyalty the wisdom of a national policy built upon fair dealing. With the final settlement of all outstanding claims which this measure ensures, Indians can take their place without special handicap or special advantage in the economic life of our nation and share fully in its progress."⁷⁰

The enactment of the Indian Claims Commission Act was a major piece of legislation affecting Indian affairs during the postwar period. The act provided guidelines for federal Indian policy--something which had been lacking up to that time. On August 24, 1946, the Oklahoma City Times reported Commissioner William Brophy's assessment of federal administration of Indian affairs and his comparison of it with the Collier administration. Prior to 1933, Indian policy was loosely defined in comparison to the well-defined policy of John Collier in the 1930s and the 1940s. Although Commissioner Brophy sought the same general reform for American Indians as Collier, he approached Indian affairs differently. While Collier wanted Indians to reorganize tribal governments, become self-sustaining and grow in confidence, and to integrate with other

Americans when they were prepared, Brophy believed many Indians, especially veterans, were ready to assimilate. He wanted Indians to use more of their own resources and concentrate on improvement in areas of conservation, health and education.

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Most significantly Brophy claimed that federal supervision of Indian affairs under Collier was bureaucratic. Collier was criticized for creating too many offices in his reform campaign. Commissioner Brophy worked to dissolve district offices on the reservations and replace them with area offices requiring less personnel and funding. Brophy's policy to simplify the Indian Bureau correlated with congressional retrenching guidelines.

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On August 8, 1946, President Truman signed a bill to "facilitate and simplify administration of Indian affairs." Reorganization of the B.I.A. permitted the Commissioner to set up five geographical areas with headquarters at Minneapolis, Minnesota; Billings Montana; Portland, Oregon; Phoenix, Arizona; and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. This move eliminated over 40 offices and gave area officers more authority. In addition the budget structure was reduced from 116 to 29 titles of appropriation to streamline administration.

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With an enormously inflated national debt Congress inaugurated a movement for retrenchment. Congress advocated elimination of certain government programs and reduction in number of federal employees. The creation of the Indian Claims Commission contradicted the government's policy of reducing spending, but many officials believed that by settling with the Indians they could save millions of dollars in the long run. There was also a feeling that the Commission would help the Indian to

assimilate into the mainstream society. Congressman Stigler wrote a friend on August 23, 1946, "I think this is one of the most important bills, as far as the Indian is concerned, that Congress has passed in the last quarter of a century, and will go a long way in emancipating the American Indian and permitting him to take his place with the white
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brethren."

The Indian Claims Commission was also severely criticized by many congressmen as they speculated about repercussions. Republican Senator Ed Moore of Oklahoma stated that it "looks to me like just
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another useless bureau." In a statement before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Senate Public Lands Committee, Moore argued that the Commission was a "wasteful duplication of government expenditure" and the act should be repealed. He added the Commission's purpose was abnormal to procedure in filing claims against the United States government, leading to "graft, fraud and corruption at the expense of the public treasury," and the Indian Claims Commission Act furnished "an excuse for continuation of the Indian Bureau." The Bureau of Indian Affairs cost \$40 million a year, and Moore asserted that it should be
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abolished.

Other Republican congressmen presented similar arguments pointing to the great cost that the Indian Commission would entail. They
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asked, "Why must we buy America from the Indians all over again?" They charged that the tribes were armed with shrewd lawyers who would swindle enormous amounts of money out of the federal government; this assault on the federal treasury would impede the country's progress in recovering from the war.

Upon establishment of the Indian Claims Commission, Oscar Chapman, then Acting Secretary of the Interior, wrote to President Truman strongly recommending Felix Cohen for Chief of the Commission. 78 Cohen was a native New Yorker with a doctorate in Ethics and Jurisprudence from Harvard and a law degree from Columbia. Later he taught at Yale Law School, and wrote extensively on law pertaining to Indians. His Handbook of Federal Indian Law, published in 1942, exemplified his knowledge on Indian affairs and won him respect as a leading authority on Indian law. President Truman, however, selected Edgar E. Witt, a former governor of Texas as the Chief Commissioner. Louis J. O'Marr, a former Attorney General of Wyoming and William M. Holt, a prominent 79 Nebraska lawyer were chosen as Witt's associates.

Upon receiving their appointments the three commissioners began to hear claims against the United States. Within the first five years 80 the commissioners heard some 852 cases. Numerous claims forced the extension of the Claims Commission to 1961, and similar circumstances forced the approval of an additional five-year extension until 1966. Additional time was granted and the number of commissioners was later increased to five members. Finally Congress dissolved the Commission in September, 1978.

The enactment of the Indian Claims Commission Act was followed by a steady stream of bills, all purported to be in the best interest of Indians. Each however was another step towards termination of federal services to Indians.

On January 6, 1947, Senate Bill 30 was introduced in the first session of the 80th Congress to integrate competent Indians into the

mainstream. The bill authorized "the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for certain lands to certain settlers in the Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada."⁸¹ This was an attempt to remove trust restrictions from the properties of residents of the Pyramid Lake community.

Another bill, Senate Resolution 41, was heard on January 8, 1947, in the 80th Congress to determine if government employment could be reduced. After several hearings, the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs reported "that the Bureau had ceased to be of utility." Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico stated, "I think we ought to abolish the Indian Agency entirely. It is absolutely unnecessary."⁸²

Another attempt to terminate Indian services resulted in Senate Bill 405 which was introduced on January 27, 1947. It sought "to repeal . . . (the) Indian Claims Commission."⁸³ The bill was an effort by Republican congressmen who believed that such a commission would be too costly to operate.

Later, on February 21, Congressman Schwabe introduced House Resolution 2148 in the House of Representatives as another attempt to assimilate Native Americans into the mainstream society. This resolution sought "to enable Osage Indians who served in World War II to obtain loans under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944."⁸⁴ It viewed the Osages as one of the progressive tribes which needed restrictions removed to allow them full enjoyment of citizenship.

Shortly afterwards on February 24, 1947, House Resolution 2165 was introduced in the first session of the 80th Congress as another attempt to succor Indians to adjust to white ways. H. R. 2165 proposed "to emancipate certain Indians of the United States who served in the armed forces

during World War I and World II." ⁸⁵ In commemoration of the patriotic service of Indians in the Second World War and recognition of their progress as citizens, Congressman Stigler introduced House Resolution 2085 to implement "National American Indian Day." ⁸⁶ Organizations such as the Indian Council Fire, an associate of Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, heartily agreed that Indians should be recognized for their patriotic performance in both World Wars, and for their contribution to American culture in general. ⁸⁷ Although other organizations supported this idea, the attempt to have an Indian day observed failed.

The general view among federal officials was that Indians should not be penalized with trust status; they contended that Native Americans had proven without doubt they were deserving of the same privileges and rights as other Americans during the war. On April 3, 1947, Congressman Francis Case of South Dakota introduced a proposal to remedy what he called the Indians' second-class status. The Case bill proposed "to emancipate the Indians of the United States and to establish certain ⁸⁸ rights for Indians and Indian tribes." Hearings were conducted on the bill throughout the rest of April including H. R. 2165 and H. R. 1113 which stated the same thing. Wade Crawford, a Klamath delegate testified, "with regard to Indians--there are different groups--different classes, throughout the United States. It is impossible to draw legislation . . . that would correct all the wrongs and give the Indians what they want and need on the different reservations throughout the United States to ⁸⁹ bring the Indians into full citizenship." Crawford did suggest that a legislative study might be made of Indian age-groups for trust removal; he suggested that those from 18 to 35 or 40 years old seemed the most advanced of the population.

The drive for total emancipation of Native Americans induced controversy within Congress, among the Indians, and the public. But the latter was the least concerned; only a few citizens expressed their views, but from that group the federal government received much criticism for plans to reduce B.I.A. services to Indians. In fact threat of reduction of Indian Bureau services inspired a small movement to restore funding to Indian programs. Alice H. Rossin, Vice-President of the Association on American Indian Affairs, was quoted in the New York Herald-Tribune as saying to the House Indian Affairs Subcommittee, "Give the bureau the tools to properly educate our Indian minority." She added, "Money (was needed) for more and better schools, money for more and better hospitals, housing and land developing.⁹⁰" Concluding her speech, she stated, "Only by spending NOW can the ultimate goal of full citizenship-integration of our American Indians become a certainty⁹¹ in this country."

Federal officials continued to look for ways to cut back on Indian programs. This became apparent when Commissioner Brophy became ill with pneumonia and then tuberculosis during the early months of 1947 while touring Indian communities in Alaska. Assistant Commissioner William Zimmerman took charge of Indian affairs. This caused concern among Indians and interest groups. While they believed that Brophy was for Indians and trusted him; they were not sure how Indian affairs would fare under Zimmerman. They were soon to find out. On February 8, at the request of Congress, Zimmerman proceeded to divide the tribes into three categories depending upon what he regarded as their readiness for withdrawal of federal supervision.⁹² This became known as the Zimmerman Plan which initiated the termination policy that was later adopted in the 1950s and aimed all tribes.

The Zimmerman Plan began a definite effort to end trust status. On May 2, 1947, Under Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman offered his opinion on another bill, Senate Bill 598, to Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska. Chapman asserted that granting of fee patents or removal of restrictions would complicate the status of Indian properties. Many Indian trust lands encumbered several heirship owners upon deaths of original allottees and with removal of trust restrictions, the numerous heirs would be subject to taxation on new lands. With numerous heirs taking over ownership of these lands, collection of taxes would become more difficult.⁹³ Up to now Indians who desired to obtain unrestricted title were required to make written applications to the Secretary of the Interior.⁹⁴ This procedure enabled the Secretary to review individual cases.

On May 2 Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon introduced Senate Bill 1222 "to remove restrictions on the property and moneys belonging to the individual enrolled members of the Klamath Indian Reservation . . . to confer complete citizenship upon such Indians."⁹⁵ The Klamaths consisted of Modocs, Klamaths and the Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians living on the reservation in Oregon. In support of his bill Morse said. "I think that in regard to our Indians we ought to see to it that they are permitted as rapidly as possible to assume all the rights and prerogatives, and privileges of all other citizens."⁹⁶ Of all Indian groups the Klamaths were one of the few who could probably assume control of their own affairs.

In determining federal appropriations for 1947 Congress planned to reduce funding for Indian schools.⁹⁷ The appropriation was approved by the House of Representatives because it was claimed that management

of Indian affairs consumed more time and cost to the taxpayers than was necessary. Members of Congress "believed that the Indian Office should be given less and less jurisdiction and supervision over the Indians, instead of more. But the Bureau insists upon authority for more supervision rather than less. There is where the conflict lies," Congressman Schwabe reported to an Indian leader.⁹⁸ Schwabe provided another explanation for the shortage of federal money. "We are still operating on the 1947 fiscal year's budget and will be until June 30, 1947. My information is that the appropriations which were requested for the 1947 fiscal year were inadequate, but that Congress provided approximately all that was requested for the Indian schools and hospitals. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs told us that they simply did not make their estimates high enough and that the supplies and labor have risen in cost since their estimate was made, and he did not attempt to blame Congress for the present shortage."⁹⁹

The miscalculation and the retrenchment policy of the federal government reduced the Interior Department's funding for the Bureau of Indian Affairs by 50 percent. In Oklahoma seven or eight Indian schools were slated to be closed and budgets of Indian hospitals were decreased.¹⁰⁰ Speculation, much of it correct, was that Congress would stop funding services and the supervision of the B.I.A. over Indian affairs. On May 27, 1947, Congresswoman Georgia Lusk of New Mexico made several remarks on federal withdrawal of supervision over Indian affairs. She deemed it necessary that the Indian Bureau be dissolved, but that which was best for the Indians should be first. She insisted that it was imperative that the right plan be implemented for dissolving the Indian Bureau and preparing

Indians for adjustment to the dominant lifestyle because of the government's
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 past blunders in Indian affairs.

Reduction of federal services and funding of Indian affairs were part of the campaign promises that the Republican candidates voiced during the 1946 congressional election year. The Republicans campaigned on pledges to cut appropriations "making it necessary not only to terminate appointments of some employees but in some instances to abolish
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 entire bureaus." Congress assumed that Indian war veterans were the best candidates for leaving the reservations and services to them could be discontinued. A report in the House of Representatives for June 25 discussed the removal of restrictions on the properties of those veterans. The report referred to H. R. 1113, with some changes, which read that Indian citizens who wanted trust limitations removed could do so with a
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 writ from a court of law if they were over 21 years of age.

The Indian response to congressional action on Indian policy was not favorable. One Oklahoma Indian who was upset about reduction of Indian services sent a letter to Senator Elmer Thomas, on July 11, that stated, "As I know the Republican Party has a control of the Congress, And closing these Hospitals An schools and the indian Bureau. However,
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 in fact you know, that we need our schools an hospitals." Congressmen who supported closing Indian schools and hospitals claimed that state-supported institutions could supply the same services for Indians as they did for everyone else. Native Americans, however, claimed that they were discriminated against at public schools and hospitals, that they were ignored in the hospitals and pushed around in public schools. Thus, they preferred their own hospitals and schools because they received better services there.

It was claimed that most of those Native Americans who were mistreated in public schools and neglected were full-bloods whose physical appearance of brown skin and long black hair, and tattered clothing were repugnant to white workers in hospitals and teachers at schools. This appearance aroused the stereotyped image of downtrodden Indians of the 1800s in the minds of non-Indian nurses, doctors, and school teachers. It was explained that professionals in public schools and hospitals felt uneasy and viewed the Indians as poor and illiterate in comparison to the outgoing customs of white Americans. They carried out their duties with an ethnocentric attitude, perhaps sometimes unaware that they were acting in a discriminatory manner.

Mixed-blooded Indians who were not as dark-skinned as full-bloods, and who were economically better off, blended easier with non-Indians. They were more readily accepted in public schools and hospitals, especially if they tended not to act in the customary quiet manner.

On July 21, 1947, Senate Bill 1681 was introduced in the second-session of the 80th Congress as another termination attempt to dissolve federal obligations. The bill proposed "to provide for the settlement of certain obligations of the United States to the Indians of New York."¹⁰⁵ The measure attempted to abrogate trust restrictions on the Six Tribes of the Iroquois League. During a discussion of Indian affairs in the Senate on the same day, Senator Butler exhorted immediate removal of trust restrictions. He argued that they should be removed "as rapidly as it can be done, the Indians should be emancipated from Federal wardship and control."¹⁰⁶ In the course of his remarks, he introduced Senate Bill 1684 pertaining to the Osage Indians. The bill proposed "to remove restrictions

on the property and moneys belonging to the enrolled members of the Osage Indian Tribe in Oklahoma."¹⁰⁷ The bill also provided for the liquidation of tribal property and distribution of the proceeds to the members of the tribe. Butler was part of a group in Congress that condoned termination and believed that American Indians should one day assume control over their own destinies. The root of the controversy was "when Native Americans should be terminated."

On July 25, 1947, officials in the Department of the Interior announced reorganization of Indian services in Oklahoma to adjust to a 50 percent reduction in appropriations.¹⁰⁸ The principle changes were the establishment of the Western Consolidated Agency at Anadarko and the additional handling of affairs for the Quapaw Agency by the Muskogee Agency. Congressional interest for Indian affairs in 1947 called for a gradual withdrawal or simplification of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and reform legislation for certain tribes to improve their conditions for independence. It was deemed important that tribes take on the responsibility for their members.

On August 4, 1947, House Resolution 3064 was approved making surviving members of the Laguna Band of Mission California Indians independent of trust regulations. Enacted as Public Law 335 at the president's approval, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to issue patents in fee to these Indians.¹⁰⁹ William Brophy and other federal officials deemed that trust status hindered the progress of the California Indians as progressive American citizens and viewed the bill as a reform measure to succor living conditions of these people.

While Brophy battled tuberculosis, he continued to encourage the progress of Native American groups and maintained contact with them. On September 20, 1947, Commissioner Brophy wrote Ruth M. Bronson, the Secretary of the National Congress of American Indians, to thank the NCAI members for conveying their good wishes for his recovery. While touring native villages in Alaska the Commissioner noted the Indians' need for combating tuberculosis and other ailments. Responding to a report of an outbreak among Indians near Sitka, Alaska, Brophy informed Bronson that federal funds had been appropriated to finance treatment of the disease. In order to supply treatment to these people additional funds for a new hospital, sanitarium, and equipment to detect tuberculosis were allocated. As a preventive measure the Alaska inhabitants were educated in preparing adequate diets and on sanitation methods to prevent tuberculosis, and how to improve their general living conditions. "But all of this is not enough," Brophy wrote. "This seige has dramatically brought home to me the necessity that we increase our assaults on all fronts, the medical, educational, economic and social." 110

Overall negative conditions discouraged Indian groups. Saddened and frustrated with the environment on desolate reservations and rural Indian communities, compounded with termination legislation, Indians began protesting. The Daily Oklahoman reported on September 21, 1947, that Indians "want at least \$7,000,000,000 from the United States." The astronomical figure was arrived at by Lewis Allen Youpe, an Indian representative, who said, "250 tribes will hand Uncle Sam (a bill) for real estate they claim he didn't pay enough for in the first place." 111 The claim seemed exorbitant and worsened Indian relations with the federal

government, but it was one of the early Indian outcries against injustice in the postwar period.

Indian protest and interest groups' complaints produced some reform action. An Indian Credit Association was established to improve living conditions of Indians. On October 18, 1947, Congressman Stigler wrote a friend that he considered the association "one of the greatest instrumentalities for rehabilitating our Indian people."¹¹² As early as 1945 Congress considered legislation that would aid Indian-owned organizations and businesses, and an education program which would improve¹¹³ Indian economic status.

On December 2, 1947, President Truman summarized the needs of Indians in a public report on the Navajo. "Our basic purpose is to assist the Navajos--and other Indians--to become healthy, enlightened, and self-supporting citizens, able to enjoy the full fruits of our democracy and to contribute their share to the prosperity of our country."¹¹⁴ At Truman's request Secretary of the Interior Julius Krug proposed a ten-year federal program for rehabilitating the Navajo and Hopi Indians.¹¹⁵ Vocational training and developing reservation resources to improve their economy and health conditions were its objectives. When Congress approved this program, the Navajos and the Hopis were on the road to recovery. Ironically, while the federal government was cutting back in funding for Indian programs, the Alaskan and Southwestern tribes received increased federal assistance.

When Brophy resigned as Commissioner of Indian Affairs on December 31, 1947, Native Americans lost a supporter for reformation of their livelihood. He informed the President, "It is with deep regret that I am

compelled to inform you that my health will not permit me to carry on fully the vigorous work that must be done by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs if the Indians are to be protected in their treaty, civil and property rights." ¹¹⁶ Brophy urged Secretary of the Interior Krug to maintain a "policy of preserving Indian resources, of assuring the people the right to live . . . in their own way, nurturing the natural dignity of the people by a respect for their heritage, protecting their full civil and social rights and of offering the public services." ¹¹⁷

The departure of Brophy and especially the lack of sufficient current data on Indian conditions and needs hindered Congress and federal officials from acting effectively in Indian affairs. During 1947 former President Herbert Hoover was selected to supervise a task force to investigate Indian affairs, to bring to light conditions among Indians and to examine the legitimacy of Indian claims before the Indian Claims Commission. The task force was also to determine whether tribes were capable and willing to handle their affairs, and to estimate their progress towards assimilation with other citizens. In 1948 the task force reported "Indian leadership is developing. Indian people are analyzing their problems, and assessing their condition in a realistic way that it is very promising. Some of them see very clearly that they can do more for themselves, with very reasonable assistance, than Uncle Sam would or could do for them," ¹¹⁸

The task force report had a significant effect on federal Indian policy. Congressional members concluded from it that Indian programs needed less funding, and that Indians were voluntarily adopting white American ways. Federal obligations could be transferred to the states, although the financial burden would not be transferred until Indians were in a position to pay property taxes to help finance services rendered to them. ¹¹⁹

The Hoover Commission recommendations were influential in the formation of Indian policy after 1947. The first Truman administration and Indian policy during the postwar years brought about a new era in federal-Indian relations. While Truman advocated protection of Indian rights and continued federal services of the New Deal to help the oppressed Indian minority, the Republican Congress advocated decreasing Indian services. When the two positions clashed, Truman withdrew. He was not able to influence Indian policy as his predecessor, Franklin Roosevelt, had. President Truman lacked an effective leader in the Indian Commissioner with a compatible relationship with the Secretary of the Interior, and congressional support. Although his views on Indian policy differed with the Republican Congress, he too, believed that Indians should take their places in American society.

The Indian Claims Commission program and the findings of the Hoover Commission were guiding factors that brought about termination in Indian affairs. In the immediate postwar period, federal Indian policy was a controversial issue; the seeds of termination had been planted. Ironically, many Indians supported termination of trust status. Unexpectedly this support cultivated a congressional movement enacting an Indian policy of termination. This attitude was due in large part to the Indians' experience during World War II which gave them a new perspective on reservation life. Some Indians and most federal officials deemed that the traditional Indian livelihood was no longer practical in the Atomic Age.

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CHAPTER II

INDIAN AFFAIRS IN THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION, 1948-1952

Despite objections by Indians and opposition from pro-Indian organizations, Congress continued to introduce termination legislation during the second Truman administration. The Osages adamantly opposed Senate Bill 1684 which proposed to remove restrictions on property and monies belonging to enrolled members of the tribe. The Osages were considered one of the wealthiest tribes on a per capita basis, but since the 1920s grafters continually harassed and exploited them. Production of oil on Osage lands provided royalty payments to the Indians which in turn lured swindlers to them. Osages were cheated and murdered for their money and properties in the 1920s and the 1930s indicating that wealthy Indians, although economically self-sustaining, were not capable of defending themselves from shrewd opportunists. Chief Lookout was opposed to Senate Bill 1684 because he feared that his people would experience further exploitation. While many Osages were educated and had served in World War II, concern was expressed for elders who were the¹ most vulnerable.

The Augua Caliente Band of California Indians also protested against termination. On February 2, 1948, their attorney, Eugene L.

Graves, wrote Senator Thomas to present their protest. "These Indians are very much opposed to the so-called Butler Bill," wrote Graves, "which proposes to sell all of the Indian land in California to the Government and to divide the proceeds." ² Action on the bill was delayed to permit further discussion by Congress.

The proposed termination of the California Indians aroused considerable discussion in Congress on the Butler Bill and similar measures. House Resolution 1113 especially caused disagreement among congressmen. In opposition to its approval Senators Thomas, Burton Wheeler, Carl Hatch, O'Mahoney and Chavez signed a petition stating that Native Americans were not yet ready to assume full responsibility over their affairs.

Dr. Haven Emerson, President of the Association on American Indian Affairs, released a statement in opposition to H. R. 1113. "Indians are citizens now, though many Congressmen, as well as the general public, seem unaware of that fact," asserted Emerson. "If they are now denied their full rights of citizenship in some States, and if they are subject to discrimination at the hands of non-Indian neighbors in many localities, these 'disabilities' are not a result of existing Federal law, cannot be remedied by Congressional legislation of this character." He added, "Real emancipation of the American Indian from discrimination and ignorance requires education--education of the non-Indian public and education of the Indians themselves. Meanwhile the provisions of our laws which protect Indian rights and property against injustices and plunder must be maintained." ³

One of the brighter moments in Indian affairs was the congressional concern for the education and health of Indians who were in need, particularly in Alaska and the Southwest. In studying the educational needs of Indian students, a review of 1948 Indian school records revealed that only 28 percent of the children entering federal Indian schools came from homes in which only an Indian language was spoken.⁴ Therefore federal concern was concentrated more on those tribes who were suffering in the areas of health and who seemed to attract national attention. The incidence of tuberculosis and other diseases was high because of unhealthy Indian home environments; mainly in rural reservation areas. In the Southwest the Navajo and Hopi Indians suffered from poor living conditions and disease. In addition, many Indians were freezing and starving during the severe winter storms in 1947 and the early months of 1948. The critical situation of the Indians brought national attention to them. On March 4, 1949, President Truman reported in a public statement, "recently I requested the Secretary of the Interior to report to me on the emergency situation of the Navajo Indians . . . this winter."⁵

In another instance President Truman showed concern for Native Americans when he vetoed a bill for disposal of submarginal lands within Indian reservations. In February, 1948 House Resolution 3153 proposed the sale of barren land on Indian reservations in North Dakota, South Dakota and Montana. During the drought period of 1932 to 1938 the United States acquired 245,000 acres of drought area for the Secretary of the Interior to use for the benefit of Indians. By disapproving the passage of the bill, President Truman permitted the affected tribes to utilize

the submarginal lands under the supervision of the Department of the Interior.⁶

The postwar period was crucial in that many competent Indians were forced to sell their lands. Their economic situation pressured them to sell for lack of revenue to develop their properties. One of the benefactors of Indians was the Indian Claims Commission that provided cash settlements to tribes. On March 24, 1948, P. L. 451 authorized payment to certain enrolled members of the Seminole Tribe.⁷ The Seminoles were a small, impoverished tribe and distribution of funds to them was an attempt to improve their economical livelihood.

Five days later President Truman signed House Resolution 2502, authorizing \$500 payments to each Klamath Indian. The per capita payments were made from the tribe's capital reserve fund. An additional \$200 was allowed to each Klamath veteran of World War II. "I urge the Klamath Indians give deep thought," stated the President, "to the use of their resources, both individual and tribal, in ways that will insure their future security and progress. I say this because it will not be possible for them to recover these resources if they are once lost through⁸ unwise transactions."

The supportive actions of President Truman and a few other federal officials did not impress world critics of the United States' handling of Indian affairs. On May 6, 1948, a newspaper article reported that the Soviets questioned American treatment of Indians. Russian reports criticized past U. S. involvement in Indian wars during the 1800s and their handling of post-World War II federal Indian policy.⁹ International scrutiny added significance to the Hoover Commission Report

which updated federal officials on Indian conditions and assessed the efficiency of federal supervision of Indian affairs. American government officials asserted the Soviet attack was unwarranted. In reference to William Brophy's administration as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Truman stated that the postwar years of federal supervision of Indian affairs under Brophy "has been marked by a spirit of humanity¹⁰ and a genuine interest in the progress of the Indians."

On September 20, 1948, Theodore H. Haas, Chief Counsel for the Indian Bureau, addressed a conference of field staff in Billings,¹¹ Montana on Indian affairs. His topic "Trends and Portrends in the Indian Bureau" was an attempt to clarify the reasoning behind federal Indian policy during the postwar period. Haas stated that it was important to transfer federal supervision from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to states and transfer the functions of the Indian Bureau to tribes. This would result in the dissolution of the B.I.A. and acculturation of Native Americans into society. Ultimately Indians would become dissatisfied with low incomes and strive to find better jobs, resulting in diversification of occupations.

While the Bureau of Indian Affairs was attempting to assimilate Indians into American society, they were being discriminated against legally in many areas. On January 13, 1949, the Executive Board of the Association on American Indian Affairs asked for the end of discrimination against Indians of New Mexico and Arizona. Executive Director Alexander Lesser and other board members petitioned Federal Security Administrator Ewing, Secretary of Interior Krug, and President Truman to halt discrimination against 100,000 American Indian citizens who were being denied

social security benefits. The petition read "for the fourteen years since enactment of the Social Security Act, American Indians of these two states have been applying without avail for public assistance for their aged, their blind, and their dependent children."¹²

Oliver La Farge, President of the Association and Chairman of its American Indian Fund, reinforced the petition verbally. "This callous and illegal treatment of thousands of American Indians intensified their suffering, is responsible for deaths from starvation and malnutrition, and increases their need for emergency relief and public charity."¹³ The Executive Board of AAIA strongly charged racial discrimination by Arizona and New Mexico government officials against Indians and demanded immediate presidential action to end the abuse. Discriminatory practices affected many of the Indians in Arizona and New Mexico. Out of a total estimated Indian population of 350,000 in the United States, 56,000 were in Arizona and 43,000 in New Mexico. As of January, 1949 Arizona and New Mexico were the second and third largest Indian populated states behind Oklahoma's 111,000 Indians.¹⁴

Discrimination compounded with federal cutbacks in Indian services produced anxiety among Native Americans. Closing of Indian hospitals and clinics meant that Indians would lose services and have to go through the county health departments for medical care. In Oklahoma one concerned citizen wrote Congressman Carl Albert of Oklahoma on January 24, 1949, that Indians of half-blood and over would not endure the red tape in applying for medical care, and they would die.¹⁵

In Oklahoma the federal government attempted to turn over the Indian hospitals at Talihina and Pawnee to the State. Principal Chief

Harry J. W. Belvin of the Choctaws claimed that the state of Oklahoma was trying to get the federal government to relinquish its control of the two hospitals against Indian opposition. ¹⁶ Senator Thomas responded in a letter on January 29, 1949, that "the Indian Bureau has been reduced in its appropriation for the past several years and . . . the Bureau does not have sufficient funds to carry on the work satisfactorily." ¹⁷ Thomas explained to Oklahoma Indians that passage of special legislation was necessary to allow the state of Oklahoma to gain control over the Indian hospitals and none was presently pending in Congress.

Mistreatment of Indians and abuse of Indian rights provoked an emphatic response from the Association on American Indian Affairs. On March 4, 1949, President Truman wrote Secretary of the Interior Krug inquiring about progress on the proposed ten-year program to assist the Navajo and Hopi Indians in Arizona and New Mexico. ¹⁸ Truman intended for the Indian Bureau to provide prompt assistance to the suffering Indians, but the AAIA charged that the President and the Bureau of Indian Affairs were not doing enough. Of all organizations concerned about American Indians, the AAIA was the most vocal in demanding action for improving their livelihood.

Eleanor Roosevelt expressed her disapproval of Indian-white relations in Arizona and New Mexico in an article in the New York World-Telegram. The former First Lady stated that House Resolution 2632 contained a hidden provision excluding Native Americans in the two states from social security benefit payments. The provision read, "In striking out the House proviso and increasing the appropriations for the Navajo and Hopi service in the amount of \$400,000 and the appropriation,

'Welfare of Indians' in the amount of \$150,000 . . ." The significance of the provision followed "the committee does so with the understanding that the program of welfare assistance in the States of Arizona and New Mexico is to be carried on as in the past and that rates of assistance are not to be increased."¹⁹ This meant that other people might have the rates of their social security benefits increased, but not Indians. Even more unfair, American Indian citizens had been excluded from the social security rolls in Arizona and New Mexico. Mrs. Roosevelt charged this to be discrimination. In closing she wrote, "Why is it we cannot seem to treat the first citizens of this country with decency and justice?"²⁰ It makes one ashamed."

To improve general living conditions for Indians, House Resolution 2724²¹ was introduced in February, 1949 in the 81st Congress. The bill repeated H. R. 1113 that provided a choice for those who wanted freedom of trust restrictions and live in the mainstream. Upon reaching the age of 21, any restricted Indian could then apply to a court of law for a "decree of judgement of competency." Pro-Indian supporters claimed this resolution was just another way to thrust unprepared Indians into a competitive American society, to quickly solve the "Indian Problem." The Bureau was also charged with manipulating Native Americans, especially when Commissioner William Brophy became ill and other Bureau officials took over Indian affairs.

Controversy intensified with the nomination of a new Commissioner of Indian Affairs to replace William Brophy. The naming of Dr. John R. Nichols of New Mexico caused protests among Indians and their supporters. Senator William Langer of North Dakota argued that the new

Commissioner should be an American Indian. "Roughly 3 years ago I was a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs, when the nomination of . . . , William A. Brophy to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs came before the committee. I protested that appointment," said Langer. "Nevertheless, we were told . . . that would be the last time when a man would be nominated for the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs who did not have some Indian blood in him."

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Senator Langer deemed that an Indian would have insight to Indian problems and he would be familiar with Indian affairs. Many Native Americans were graduating from universities like Harvard and Yale, so there were qualified Native Americans for the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Nevertheless, President Truman appointed Nichols. Despite his lack of Indian blood, Truman believed that Nichols was the best-qualified person for the job. He held a doctorate in educational administration and had participated in the Hoover Commission Study. The appointment insulted American Indians because once again a non-Indian was to supervise Indian affairs, although Nichols served for only 11 months.

Many Americans believed that the Red Man was already handling his own affairs since World War II and that Native Americans were confident and wanted to run their own affairs. On April 8, 1949, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Bill Warne met with members and guests of the Association on American Indian Affairs in New York to discuss self-government of American Indians. In addressing the AAIA and associates, Warne re-emphasized self-determination on the part of Indians to direct their progress away from federal supervision. "As a Government official,

I am chiefly concerned with tribal self-government as a means to an end--the end being the discharge of Federal responsibility in Indian affairs." ²³ Cooperation between Indian people and the government would be a key asset for solving Indian problems Warne noted. "What we need most is the knowledge which will enable us to awaken in our Indian fellow citizens a desire to move away from the past of their fathers into the future we have arranged for every youngster."

At the 12th annual meeting of the Association of American Indian Affairs on May 4, the new Commissioner spoke on the independence of Native Americans. Dr. Nichols expressed the importance of the future of Indians as American citizens, commenting that one day in the future Indian people would not be treated as a special people. All tribal designations and treaty responsibilities would be impractical. ²⁴

Later in May, on the 26th, a report released from the Department of the Interior on the Hoover Commission's findings recommended transferring the Bureau of Indian Affairs to a new department more related to social security and education. The Hoover Commission suggested a "Department of Natural Resources" for handling Native American affairs and to also develop natural resources on their lands. Of course Indian affairs would only be a part of the responsibilities of the agency which would emphasize conservation and development of forests, water and all natural resources. ²⁵

One Indian said that he was tired of the large federal bureaucracy governing Indian affairs, inferring that another department was not needed. Robert Goombi wrote Senator Thomas in May, 1949, about the difficulty of getting something done in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

"Pass the buck all they do at our Agency they send the Indian to the land department, then (sic) they are sent to the Land Committee, and round and round the poor Indian goes, I tell you Senator I just hate to kick about things but it is just a shame the way they do business in our Land Department."²⁶

To aid individual Native Americans in assimilating, House Resolution 5099 was introduced in the House of Representatives on June 9, 1949. The bill proposed "to authorize the United States to purchase restricted lands of individual Indians and for other purposes,"²⁷ and to provide the sum of \$25 million for the Secretary of the Interior to purchase Indian trust lands including water rights and improvements, at not more than the appraised value of the land. The land would belong to the federal government, disallowing anyone else from acquiring Indian land, and revenue from the sales would benefit American Indian citizens. No further action was taken on the bill, but it represented the reform action of the federal government to conserve and develop natural resources. Obtaining Indian land, however, was another form of termination.

The Department of the Interior released a report that the Indian Bureau was making progress "towards greater self-government and economic security for the Nation's 400,000 Indians. . . ."²⁸ Congress was cognizant of the economic, social and educational needs of Indians to attain a standard of living equitable to their neighbors, and legislative action was taken. The Ten-Year Rehabilitation Program for the Navajo was noted, and a similar development program, costing \$23 million was started for the Papago. At the end of the fiscal year on June 30, 1949, government loans totalling \$29,933,000 were made to tribal corporations, credit associations and cooperative groups in 23 states which in

turn, lent to individuals or tribal enterprises. Also during this period the B.I.A. operated 64 hospitals. Perhaps the most progress was made in education. An estimated 92,000 Indian children were enrolled in schools.

Undoubtedly American Indians experienced difficulty in assimilating because of legal discrimination. Senator Pat McCarren from Nevada claimed that the United States Constitution discriminated against Indians and should be amended, providing no special treatment of America's indigenous people. On July 20, 1949, McCarren introduced Senate Joint Resolution 120 which would strike out the phrase, "and with the Indian tribes," in the commerce clause of the Constitution. McCarren charged that "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes," had been used to justify federal control of Indians. McCarren said federal supervision was not necessary, it hindered their progress in assimilation.²⁹

Senator McCarren stated there were several reasons why Indians were not able to exercise full citizenship rights. Approximately half of the Indian children had to attend Indian schools rather than public schools. Native Americans were forced to seek medical care at Indian hospitals, and they could not buy, sell or lease their land without permission from the federal government. Native Americans were also prohibited from withdrawing personal funds deposited in the Treasury. Indians on reservations were under tribal jurisdiction. Amerindians were dependent upon the Indian Bureau for social services and Bureau regulations prevented Indian veterans from obtaining G. I. loans. Native Americans were also restricted from buying alcoholic beverages. Businesses on

reservations were regulated by the tribes and the B.I.A.. A special act of Congress was necessary to free individual Native Americans of restrictions on their property. In summarizing the effect the commerce clause had on Amerindians, the Senator stated, "The retention of this power in the Constitution makes for continuance of paternalistic Federal control over Indians indefinitely in the future," and should be amended. ³⁰

In August another bill reflecting tones of termination was introduced in the 81st Congress. House Resolution 4510 was approved on the 19th as an act "to provide funds for cooperation with the school board of Klamath County, Oregon, for construction, extension and improvement of public school facilities in Klamath County, Oregon, to be available to all Indian and non-Indian children without discrimination." ³¹

The act signified cooperation between Oregon Indians and county officials. Combining school facilities eliminated segregation of Indian education; thus termination in the Pacific Northwest was occurring.

In her daily column in the Washington Daily News for October 5, 1949, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt warned Native Americans and the public of the termination action in Congress. ³² She noted that the government's handling of Indian affairs should be carried out cautiously and justly because it involved international scrutiny. "One of the Soviet attacks on the democracies, particularly in the United States, center on racial policies," Mrs. Roosevelt said. "In recent months the Russians have been particularly watching our attitude towards native Indians of our country." The former First Lady concluded by asking, "Are we indifferent to the way our Indians are treated? If not we had better let our representatives in Congress know that we do not like the present trend of legislation."

Mrs. Roosevelt was a humanitarian and a leading spokesperson for Native Americans and other minorities. Certainly her viewpoint on measures to guard against exploitation of American Indians was in accord with President Truman's.

On October 17, 1949, the President vetoed a bill that proposed a ten-year program to aid the Navajo and Hopi Indians. Senate Bill 1407 authorized \$88,570,000 to promote the rehabilitation of the two Indian groups. The President explained, "Section 9 extends State civil and criminal laws and court jurisdiction to the Navajo-Hopi reservations which are now under Federal and Tribal laws and courts. Section 9 is heavily weighted with possibilities of grave injury to the very people who are intended to be the beneficiaries of the bill."³³ Several months later President Truman signed a similar bill, providing for a ten-year rehabilitative program for the Navajo and Hopi. Senate Bill 1407 enacted as Public Law 474 did not contain the law extension provision that was³⁴ in Senate Bill 1407.

At the end of October, 1949 Truman signed a bill providing³⁵ hospital care for Indian patients in New Mexico. Senate Bill 2404 appropriated \$1.5 million for the purpose of cooperating with Bernalillo County in New Mexico at Albuquerque for the construction of a hospital with not less than 100 beds for Indian patients. The President expressed regret, however, that Congress had deleted a non-discrimination provision from the bill that would have assured equal and fair health treatment of Native American citizens.

Since World War II the Indian Claims Commission work and the Hoover Commission Study were the most important documents recommending

termination. In the first session of the 81st Congress, Senator George Malone of Montana introduced Senate Bill 2726 "to abolish the functions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior, to re-³⁶ move the guardianship over Indians and trusteeship over Indian lands." The bill also attempted to repeal the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Senator Malone asserted that the Indian Bureau was too costly to operate, stating evidence that the budget for the fiscal year 1950 was \$58 million.

In an attempt to gain support for his bill, the Senator stated that American Indians should be given the same status as other Americans. "Indian blood is good blood," he said. "If I had any Indian blood in my veins, I would be very proud of it." The Senator pessimistically described the present status of Indians. "The present situation starts the Indian boys and girls out in life with an inferiority complex, born of the fact that they do not have equal opportunities and privileges, as³⁷ compared to other American citizens."

Soon afterwards, Senator Mike Monroney of Oklahoma introduced a resolution, which was approved, by which the Committee on Indian Affairs in both the House and Senate was abolished. Indian land problems were then submitted to the Public Lands Committee. When a sufficient number of bills accumulated, they were referred to a subcommittee for consideration.³⁸ This act cut the cost and time spent on Indian affairs which followed budget guidelines of Congress.

The Hoover Commission Study recommended a reduction of federal supervision in Indian Affairs. While addressing the Oklahoma-Kansas Superintendents' Association in Oklahoma City on November 17, 1949,

Commissioner Nichols insisted that Indian services would be reduced at the federal level and area offices would assume obligations. Since the publications of the Meriam Report in 1928, Nichols pointed out that a "large number of highly qualified professional and technical personnel" was introduced in Indian administration, providing a widespread acceptance of concern and federal services to Indians until World War II. He added, "In recent years, however, because of the lack of sufficient funds for complete staffs and . . . technical supervision, some activities may be deteriorated."³⁹

However, reductions in appropriations for the B.I.A. were made by the 81st Congress. Then, surprisingly, John R. Nichols resigned as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. On March 23, 1950, President Truman⁴⁰ accepted his resignation. Subsequently Nichols was assigned as a special assistant on Pacific trust territories in the Department of the Interior.⁴¹

Newly appointed Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman recommended that Dillon S. Myer, former Director of the War Relocation Authority, succeed Nichols as Indian Commissioner.⁴² Myer had twice re-⁴³jected offers of the post of Commissioner of the B.I.A. In recommending Myer to President Truman, Secretary Chapman wrote, "He did an outstanding job in the maintenance and relocation of the Japanese evacuated from the Pacific Coast. . . . I feel that his total experience well fits him for the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs."

Myer expressed surprise at Nichols' resignation and the offer of the position of B.I.A. Commissioner to him. On the same day he took office as the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, H. Rex Lee, Assistant

Director of Division of Territories Islands and Possessions, became
⁴⁴
 Associate Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Considerable controversy and opposition arose at the appointment of Myer as Indian Commissioner, particularly from outspoken Indians like Bob Yellowtail, a Crow Indian who at one time was an Indian agent to his people. Indian experts like former Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier also objected to Myer's appointment because they believed he would run the Indian Bureau like he had the War Relocation Authority.

Originally from Ohio, Dillon Myer earned a Bachelor of Science degree from Ohio State University and a Master's degree from Columbia University. He served in various government positions in the Department of Agriculture during the 1920s and the 1930s. From 1942 to 1946 he was Director of the War Relocation Authority before becoming Commissioner of
⁴⁵
 Indian Affairs. At the age of 59 Dillon Myer was a stern, forceful person. In carrying out his duties as Indian Commissioner, Myer antagonized many persons.
⁴⁶
 Part of his unpopularity derived from his discharging officials who had the same view on Indian affairs as John
⁴⁷
 Collier. There was no doubt that Collier and Myer disagreed in their philosophies on administering Indian affairs.

The status of Indians in American society posed a grave question for federal officials. On March 28, 1950, the general conditions of Indians were discussed in the 81st Congress. Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin proposed an investigation of the progress of Native Americans and Indian affairs. He introduced Senate Resolution 245 which stated the need for scrutiny of the government's Indian policy. "In this discussion, conclusive facts have been shown," he stated, "that our Federal Government

has bungled the job of enabling the Indians to become self-supporting independent citizens in keeping with the noble traditions of the Redskins." ⁴⁸ Senator Wiley was pro-Indian and his questioning of the effectiveness of federal administration of Indian affairs, and his biased views inspired discussion from other senators.

Senator Butler stated his view to Senate peers. Butler said that perhaps what the Indians thought should be considered. "Does the Indian desire to be considered Uncle Sam's stepchild forever?" "No," said the Senator. "Wardship with all its paternalistic trappings is increasingly distasteful to him." ⁴⁹ The Senator stated that the United States should determine what its debt to the Indians amounts to, individually and collectively, and pay such debts. Native Americans should then take their places in communities with other citizens.

In desegregating Native Americans there would be less need of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Such intention was in accord with the Republican dominated congressional policy of retrenchment. In an effort to justify reduction of Indian services Senator Reva Bosone, Democrat from Utah, introduced Joint Resolution 490. It proposed to direct the Secretary of the Interior to study the respective tribes, bands, and Indian groups to determine their qualifications to manage their own affairs. ⁵⁰ Bosone believed that Indians have "the same inherent intelligence and capacity for performance as any other Americans." ⁵¹

In July Secretary Chapmen wrote J. Hardin Peterson, Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands in the House of Representatives, concerning the Bosone Resolution and the Interior Department's position. He stated that Indian rights should not be violated. "All too often the

problems that would be dealt with pursuant to the provisions of this Resolution have been oversimplified. Any proposed solution which would result in exploiting Indian groups by precipitate withdrawal of guarantees protecting property rights or the termination of Federal services in advance of other services being made available, would be disastrous.⁵² Chapman clearly sought to prevent exploitation.

Former Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes also expressed concern for the potential damage threatening Native Americans. He contended that the proposal was aimed at whole tribes, and he hoped that President Truman would veto the bill.⁵³ The Bosone Resolution had already passed in the House of Representatives and was favorably recommended to the Senate. The basis of the termination bill pended on the fact that some Indian groups were already independent, and no longer needed federal supervision. Ickes could not understand how Chapman could oppose the termination bill and yet support Dillon Myer as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

One avenue for tribal independence was large claim settlements when the Indian Claims Commission decided in favor of tribes. The largest settlement for an Indian claim up to 1950 was appropriated to the Utes. The claim involved three bands of Utes on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation in Utah numbering 1,600 members, and two bands of 1,200 tribesmen on the Consolidated Ute Reservation in western Colorado.⁵⁴ Earnest Leroy Wilkinson, the Utes' attorney, had worked on the Ute claim since 1935, and finally achieved successful results.

Wilkinson announced the U. S. Court of Claims' decision at the Utes' Annual Bear Dance. He stood before the Indians to tell them the

good news. Pausing, the attorney announced the decision through an interpreter--not a single Indian flickered an eyelid. The interpreter repeated the good news but the Indians took it in dead silence. The United States government agreed to pay the Utes \$31.7 million! The settlement was for six million acres of land that was taken from the
 55
 Utes in western Colorado in 1868.

Rather than distribute per capita payments of ten thousand dollars to each tribal member, and to prevent exploitation and wasteful spending, the Utes planned to spend the money through the Bureau of
 56
 Indian Affairs on schools, livestock, and hospitals. President Truman later commented, "I congratulate the Indians of the Uintah-Ouray Reservation upon their sound planning . . . the native peoples of the United States have proven that once they are given the opportunity and tools to work with, they can contribute to the stability and betterment of our
 57
 civilization."

On August 29, 1950, Commissioner Myer emphasized Indian independence before the National Congress of American Indians. He stated, "Now the Bill of Rights applies to Indians as it does to all of us and I want to say . . . that I believe in the spirit as well as . . . our Constitution." Commissioner Myer went on to say "I intend to administer the Bureau of Indian Affairs in accordance with the belief . . . I have had some experience with problems of minorities in our country and I know that their finest hopes and aspirations are as truly in the American
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 tradition as . . . the rest of us." Myer was firm with the Indians and he told them that it was their duty as American citizens to become a productive society.

On the last day in August Oscar Chapman wrote John Collier to inform him that the Department of the Interior could finally support H. J. R. 490, the Bosone Resolution. Both Collier and Chapman had been cautiously critical of the bill. "I assure you that there was no behind-the-scene action on this bill," wrote Chapman. "It has been thoroughly and carefully considered by the Department, as indicated by its report. I have full confidence in the key staff of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and am quite sure there is no malicious intent on their part to liquidate the Indians or to do anything other than aid them to assume their right-⁵⁹ful place in the American pattern." Secretary Chapman confided optimistically that the Indians and concerned individuals had nothing to fear.

In October the National Congress of American Indians charged Myer with imposing "drum head justice" on the Indians of the United States.⁶⁰ John Rainer, Executive Secretary of NCAI, stated that Myer disallowed tribes from choosing their own attorneys to represent them. Rainer cited that a law in 1870 required the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to approve all contracts between attorneys and Indian tribes when Indians did not understand English. He charged that Commissioner Myer was abusing that privilege, following the policy, without the consent of Secretary of Interior Oscar Chapman, of rejecting attorneys' contracts that involved lawyers who had opposing views of the policies of the Indian Bureau. In place of the rejected attorneys, Indians would be served with attorneys who were hired by the Indian Bureau and paid out of public funds. As evidence Rainer cited a case where eight contracts for tribes were with one attorney. The NCAI argued that Myer's military-like paternalism should cease.

Several months later Mrs. Charles Deitrich, President of the New Mexico Association of Indian Affairs, also charged that Commissioner Myer's actions concerning tribal attorney contracts were unjust. She telegraphed President Truman, "It looks like a scheme to give white men the opportunity to acquire the resources of the Indians. We earnestly pray you will do your utmost to stop this shameful injustice."⁶¹

Although the Indians' compliance seemed legitimate, Commissioner Myer claimed that he was trying to prevent attorneys from exploiting the tribes. He reasoned that if attorneys were hired who agreed with the policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a smoother transference of Native Americans into society would result.

Commissioner Myer sent a memo to the Secretary of the Interior explaining his policy of approving contracts between attorneys and Indian tribes. "In the past there has been no clearly stated policy on many aspects of attorney contracts. This has been responsible for vacillation, confusion and delay in acting on contracts that have engendered bad feeling on the part of Indians and the attorneys involved."⁶²

The Commissioner listed specific reasons for needed protection to prevent attorneys from exploiting tribes. "Some claims contracts have provided for retainer fees, or reimbursement of expenses from tribal funds, despite the fact that the payments will be a complete loss to the tribe if the claims are denied, and . . . many attorneys and legal firms have entered into contracts with tribes on a straight fee basis."

He faced further Indian opposition during November 14-20, when he and Associate Commissioner Rex Lee met with a group of California Indians of the Sacramento Area Office. The Indians objected to termination

of federal services rendered to them. "We don't want the Bureau to withdraw yet. We are not ready for it," stated Delmar Nejo. "We read of the Bill to do away with reservations, what can be done? Is the Bureau still going to be terminated?"⁶³ Myer responded, "I think the Bureau will be terminated sometime in the future, but not now." He added that it would be three to five more years before the closing of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. As to the termination of California Indians, the Commissioner stated there was a difference of opinion among California Indians. "Certain people have come to ask that we get out tomorrow and if I thought it was unanimous I would get out. I don't want to make such a quick termination if it would hurt anyone."

Certainly many Native Americans were ready for termination of federal supervision and trust restrictions on their properties. Many were discouraged with wardship status and sought to prove that they could become independent. As in the first two World Wars, numerous American Indians joined the armed forces to fight for the United States during the Korean War. By December 27, 1950, more than 2,500 Indians were in the military service. The 45th Division, which consisted of a large number of young Oklahoma Indian men, became one of the famous combat units.⁶⁴

The Korean War demanded President Truman's utmost attention. Since 1948, during his second administration, federal Indian policy had changed, disfavoring Indians. Unable to influence the Republican Congress, and faced with much larger problems, Truman was forced to allow subordinate federal officials and Congress to supervise Indian policy. Truman considered himself nevertheless as "President of all the people:

White, black, brown, red, the working man, the banker,"⁶⁵ but the nation's struggling economy and the beginning of the Korean War overshadowed Indian affairs, forcing the president to depend upon subordinates.

Truman was a strong-willed president and he did not hesitate to act.⁶⁶ This was reflected in an incident involving an Indian casualty of the Korean War. Sergeant John R. Rice, a Sioux Indian, was killed in battle in Korea while leading a squad of riflemen against a desperate enemy assault. He died only two weeks after arriving in Korea with the First Cavalry Division. The Sioux Indian had served a total of 44 months in the Pacific in World War II as a scout with the 32nd Infantry Division.⁶⁷ Unfortunately Sergeant Rice was denied burial at a private cemetery near Sioux City, Iowa. A clause in the cemetery's articles of incorporation forbade burial of non-Caucasians there. Cemetery officials discovered at the last moment that the casket they were about to lower into the ground contained the body of an Indian.⁶⁸

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Myer called the incident most detestable. He sent a telegram to Sergeant Rice's widow condemning the actions of those responsible. "I want you to know that I regard the refusal of Memorial Park Cemetery of Sioux City, Iowa to accept burial of your husband as most deplorable. Any cemetery in America should be proud to honor one of our first Americans who died in the service of his country."⁶⁹

Taking immediate action President Truman arranged for Sergeant Rice's body to be buried in Arlington Cemetery with full military honors. Surviving members of the Rice family were flown from the Sioux Reservation at Winnebago, Nebraska to Arlington at government expense.

With the Korean War at hand, congressional members interested in Indian affairs tended to dominate federal policy regarding Indian matters. On January 16, 1951, Senator Butler introduced Senate Bill 485. It proposed "To provide a decree of competency for United States Indians in certain cases."⁷⁰ Furthermore the bill stated, "That any Indian who is a citizen of the United States and who wishes to be freed of the disabilities and limitations specially applicable to Indians may, upon reaching the age of twenty-one, apply . . . for a 'decree of judgment of competency'." The proposed legislation reflected the opinion that Congress deemed Native Americans had progressed enough since World War II to accept full responsibility for their own affairs.

The Menominees were regarded as the "model tribe" of progress and economic independence. Most of the 2957 enrolled members lived on the Menominee Reservation of 236,000 acres in northeastern Wisconsin. Logging and lumbering supported the tribe; profits were spent for health, education, law and order, a tribal loan program, a relief program, and administration. As of February, 1951, the Menominees had approximately \$3 million in trust in the United States Treasury. In addition on January 10, 1951, the Menominees were awarded \$888,000 for damages in a lawsuit against the United States.⁷¹ The Menominees' prosperity indicated they were no longer in need of federal services, funding, or supervision. Therefore Congress chose the Menominees as one of the first Indian groups to be terminated.

The Oglala Sioux of South Dakota had progressed moderately well, but they needed federal aid. Tribal leaders complained that the federal government had stopped services to them. Commissioner Myer wrote Senator

Karl Mundt on February 9, that the Bureau of Indian Affairs had not terminated assistance to the Oglala Sioux, and that the Indians did not understand the full situation. ⁷² Decreased field personnel and withholding of agricultural loans at the Pine Ridge Agency resulted in the tribal council members meeting with G. Warren Spaulding, the Area Director, at Aberdeen, South Dakota. Spaulding reported that loans were withheld because there simply were not enough Bureau personnel in the field to properly assist the Sioux. The Indians were good credit risks but became delinquent in payments when they had poor harvests, low livestock production, and other agricultural related problems, some of which field workers could prevent. As a result Spaulding and Myer agreed to temporarily halt extended credit to the Oglala Sioux until the delinquency could be resolved.

In March, 1951, Commissioner Myer released an information circular on the objectives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He noted that American Indians would eventually integrate with other Americans regardless of whether they, or anyone else, could do anything about it. The Commissioner stated that no one would be hurt in the process, maintaining that the objectives of the Bureau were to see a smooth assimilation, and withdrawal of needless federal supervision and services. "I am not advocating the elimination of reservations or anything of that sort," Myer insisted. "That is something that should be decided and determined, as far as I am concerned, by the people who own those reservations and who live upon them, and that's the American Indian." ⁷³ In the process of assimilation, Commissioner Myer emphasized cooperation between the tribes and the Bureau to avoid damage to Indian people.

The upshot was that Commissioner Myer was introducing a termination program to the tribes. He tried to convince the Indians that federal assistance in agriculture, education, welfare, and health were available if the tribes were willing to become independent. In April, 1951, the Department of the Interior released a statement confirming that Native Americans were good credit risks for the Government Loan Extension Program. "Of a total of \$16,500,000 in loans made to Indians by the Government, less than \$6,000 has been charged off," re-
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 ported Secretary Oscar Chapman. Potential losses are estimated at less than one-half of one percent." In a breakdown, needs for loans included 21 percent for purchasing farm machinery, 28 percent for livestock, 5 percent for boats and fishing gear, 1 percent for higher education, 9 percent for permanent property improvements, 18 percent for land recovery and other recoverable property, and 18 percent for feed, seed and subsistence. During 1950, 3,280 loans were made to Native Americans totalling an estimated \$3.5 million.

American Indians seemed to be making progress in the early 1950s but Bureau officials were criticized for telling Indians what to do. Commissioner Myer was severely attacked for his handling of Indian affairs. One citizen hotly protested to President Truman. She called the Bureau of Indian Affairs "a sorry mess." And Commissioner Myer was charged with mistreating the Red Man. "The first thing which must be done is remove Dillon Myer, in charge of Indian Affairs. Get a decent
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 commissioner who has his interest at heart. He is a stupid man."

In an article in the New Republic magazine in May, 1951, Harold Ickes wrote, "So far as American Indians are concerned, Commissioner

Dillon Myer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is a Hitler and a Mussolini rolled into one." Ickes stated that perhaps Secretary of Interior Chapman was not aware "of the 'buck-passing,' the dodging, the hiding-out, the evasions, the slamming of doors and the downright untruths that garnish the administration of Indian affairs in the Department."⁷⁶

Ickes said that Myer's arrogant behavior in disregarding Indian rights was inexcusable and he cited one case in which the Standing Rock Sioux Indians of North and South Dakota were denied the right to hire an attorney of their own choosing with their own money. They trusted him to represent them in negotiations with the government on a case involving millions of dollars. When the Indians went to present their case to the Commissioner, he rebuffed them.

One angry attorney, James E. Curry, wrote a friend on May 12, 1951, of his difficult relations with Commissioner Myer. Curry complained that Myer would not approve his contract to represent his client, the Sioux Tribe. In addition the attorney inferred that Myer was not protecting the best interests of Indians. "Myer admits that the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, and Libby, McNeil and Libby are and have been trespassing on the land of the Hydaburg Indians," wrote Curry. "He insists, however, that the government, as their guardians, has no obligation to evict the trespassers," Curry criticized. "He concludes that the government should not even file suit against all three trespassers in behalf of the Indians, but should sue only one of them."⁷⁷

In June some of the legal restrictions on Native Americans were removed when the Department of the Interior announced that all Indians could receive and spend all their monies held in trust without supervision

of the Indian Bureau. The Osages of Oklahoma, minors, and mental incompetents however were exceptions. The new regulations on individual Indian monies, Commissioner Myer pointed out, was "part of the Bureau's general program of transferring to the Indians a constantly growing responsibility for the management of their own affairs."⁷⁸ Approximately 80,000 individuals had money accounts and they received an average amount of \$700 each. The B.I.A. also noted a similar liberating measure was being worked out for the Osages, but Bureau officials did not explain why the Osages were not included in the ruling.

On July 25, 1951, Commissioner Myer in an address to the Eighth Annual Convention of the National Congress of American Indians stated, "It has been a rather full year. There have been times when I have had difficulty in recognizing myself from the descriptions of me and my actions that have appeared in the pages of the Washington Bulletin of the NCAI and in other places. And I am sure that some members of your organization must be wondering what kind of a man you have as a Commissioner."⁷⁹

Myer went on to explain that the charge of increasing federal paternalism was not true. "Adjectives like 'dictatorial' and even 'Stalinistic' have been used pretty freely and loosely." "The truth is that the Bureau is working constantly to diminish its supervision over Indian affairs and to transfer programs and other responsibilities to the Indian people."

Commissioner Myer also explained that the B.I.A. policy of approving attorney contracts was to prevent exploitation of Indian tribes. He stated, "We have not been handpicking attorneys for the

tribes. We have not been discriminating against attorneys because they were outspokenly critical of Bureau policies. And we have most definitely not been trying to stall the filing of claims before the Indian Claims Commission beyond the August 13 deadline. In fact, we have gone to some lengths to find out whether there were any tribes which were having difficulty in securing claims attorneys and have urged that they act in time to safeguard any claims they may have."

The third and last charge that Myer dismissed involved the transfer of authority from agency officials to area offices. The Commissioner said the establishment of area offices decentralized the B.I.A. at the federal level. "Actually one of our major purposes in establishing Area Offices was to decentralize the administration of Indian affairs--to move it out closer to the Indian people by making the Area Directors responsible for many of the decisions which formerly had to be made by the Commissioner or the Secretary."

In concluding his speech, Myer emphasized again a policy of cooperation between Indian people and Bureau officials. As Native Americans raised their standard of living, they would assimilate with other Americans. Myer reminded the NCAI that the B.I.A. was working in the best interest of American Indian citizens, and that the two groups should work out a program together.

A conference of district agents yielded further optimism in the new Indian money regulations. W. O. Roberts, Area Director in Oklahoma, expressed anticipated Indian reaction. "It will remove the feeling Indians have expressed so often, 'The Government holds me down' or 'We can't do anything; we have to go get approval.'" ⁸⁰ Native Americans

had previously been discouraged and frustrated with federal regulations on their accounts.

The announcement pleased most Native Americans and it was one of the few times that Myer was praised for his actions as Commissioner. Congressman Stigler wrote a friend during a period when criticism of Myer was high. "If he does half of what he intends to do, over a period of time, I think all of us will have occasion to rejoice. Already he had promulgated some policies which I like."⁸¹

A report in the Congressional Record for August 14, 1951, contains statistics on the population, income and education of Indian tribes.⁸² In 1950 the Government counted a total of 277 tribal organizations, averaging about 1,761 members per Indian group. The average Indian family cash income was \$1,324 per year, shockingly lower than the average American family income. Klamath families averaged \$5,000 annually, the highest of Indian families. Figures in education among Native Americans were even more shocking. Of a total of 204,983 adult Indians over 17 years old, only 1,381 were college graduates, 18,049 were high school graduates and 55,578 were grammar school graduates. The report stated 77,590 American Indians could not read or write, and 33,399 could not speak the English language.

Overall, approximately 10 percent of Indian children of school age did not attend school. Often the parents did not choose to send their children to school. In one case the Santo Domingo Pueblo Indians expelled school officials from the community in order to clear the area of non-Indians while they performed ceremonial dances; they explained that the religious nature of the dances required the highest secrecy.

Commissioner Myer reminded Santo Domingo Pueblo Governor Ralph Lovato that his people were in violation of Bureau policy. "I respect the right of your pueblo to conduct your ceremonies and to initiate your children in the customs of your people. Your children are entitled, however, to have a school in which they may learn English and prepare themselves for dealing with non-Indians and for earning a living."⁸³

The forcefulness of Commissioner Myer was evident, and often caused hostile feelings among Native Americans toward the B.I.A. He also lacked tact. Sometimes Indians took his straight-forward approach as a threat. In dealing with Governor Lovato and the Pueblos, Myer claimed that the United States government actually owned the land of the Pueblo community, and it was in their best interests if they allowed school officials to perform their duties.

Later, in August 1951, President Truman signed a bill "To provide for the use of the tribal funds of the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation." Out of the funds, a per capita payment would be made to the Southern Utes, which included three groups of people. The \$31.7 million was the largest claims settlement against the United States thus far. Besides the per capita payment, President Truman was encouraged to learn that some of the money would be used for schools, livestock purchases, and hospitals. "I consider this Ute tribal program eminently sound and I am especially pleased to learn that the planning was carried out by the Indians themselves."⁸⁴

During September Commissioner Myer was criticized again for not protecting the rights and interests of Indians. Harold Ickes charged, in the New Republic that Senator McCarren was abusing rights of the Paiutes

of Pyramid Lake in Nevada and that Myer sidestepped the issue. E. R. Fryer, the Superintendent of the reservation, was intent on helping the Indians to retain their land and obtain irrigation water. Senator McCarren demanded Commissioner Myer remove Fryer. Myer transferred him, and then left Washington. Upon the Paiutes' request, President Truman⁸⁵ restored Fryer as Superintendent to the Indians. The National Congress of American Indians expressed gratitude for President Truman's personal⁸⁶ intervention in assisting the Paiutes.

Without Fryer the Paiutes would have lost some of their most remaining valuable land in Nevada. Many people familiar with the situation charged that Senator McCarren was dishonest and was exploiting the Paiutes. "This is the Indian tribe that Senator McCarren is trying to do out of some of its land," the Washington Post reported. "And many persons are quite rightly concerned that the rights of the Indians be⁸⁷ upheld."

Several weeks later the Commissioner of Indian Affairs answered Ickes' innuendoes. In a memorandum to the Secretary of the Interior, Myer described Fryer as "an intelligent, alert, aggressive, articulate man with many admirable qualities and with a long history of public service."⁸⁸ The Commissioner then explained why he removed Fryer as the Superintendent at Carson Agency. When it came to Indian affairs, Myer described Fryer as an entirely different person. "Unfortunately, I found him to be impetuous and given to snap judgements, with a strong proclivity for ignoring administrative lines. The consequence was a series of embarrassments and headaches for the agency that should have been avoided," Myer concluded.

In addition to trying to get rid of Fryer, Ickes charged that Commissioner Myer was removing officials in the B.I.A. who did not agree with his policy. ⁸⁹ Ickes cited that shortly after Myer became Commissioner, he brought in H. Rex Lee to replace William Zimmerman as his top assistant. Other people Myer brought in had very little experience with Indian affairs. In addition Willard W. Beatty resigned as Director of Indian Education after Myer had interfered with his administration of educational matters. Beatty had been in Indian education since 1936. Unquestionably Myer was trying to get rid of pro-Collier officials in the Indian Bureau and replace them with his own people. These officials would not oppose the Commissioner's management of Indians.

Also in September Senator Malone introduced a bill in Congress somewhat along the same point of view as Myer's. Senate Bill 2167 sought to establish equal rights for American Indian citizens and emancipate them once and for all. ⁹⁰ In doing so the Malone bill proposed to abolish the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The legislation raised considerable debate in the Senate as Malone presented evidence in favor of abolishing the Bureau. Although for a while passage appeared favorable, it was defeated.

With the increased possibility that the Bureau of Indian Affairs might be abolished, termination of Native Americans seemed essential. On October 19, 1951, Congressman Toby Morris of Oklahoma wrote President Truman of the need for an aggressive program of termination. As Chairman of the Indian Affairs Subcommittee in the House of Representatives, Morris stated that the government was not spending enough on administering Indian affairs and that rehabilitation of Indians should be taken care of once and for all. "I believe such expenditures would be cheap indeed in

comparison to a longer range program of inadequate spending such as been
⁹¹
 followed in the past." Morris suggested that the President recommend
 an adequate sum in his next budget message to Congress. "It is my feel-
 ing that if over the next few years if we were to spend \$100,000,000
 annually . . . we could solve this problem and it would be a very good
 investment in the long run."

In his annual budget address, President Truman asked Congress
 to provide \$121,350,000 for the Indian Affairs Bureau during the fiscal
⁹²
 year beginning July 1, 1952. This was \$50,979,088 more than the
 \$70,370,912 spent on Indian affairs in the fiscal year 1951. The request
 failed because increased federal supervision meant increased personnel.

The Indian Bureau and Congress planned for Indian self-govern-
 ment. Indian tribes were aware of the federal objective and that se-
 lected tribes were receiving funds. The Menominees were among those
⁹³
 receiving less. B.I.A. officials claimed that tribes like the Menominees
 were more nearly self-sustaining. While the Indian Bureau had more funds
 to work with, it became more selective in choosing which tribes would
 receive financial aid; those tribes receiving large settlements from the
 Indian Claims Commission had ample funds. New programs were implemented
 and existing programs in education, health, agriculture, and conservation
 were expanded. It was hoped that extra funding in 1952 would emancipate
 Native Americans.

An article in the New York Times in November asked how the fed-
 eral government would liberate Native American citizens from wardship
⁹⁴
 status. As of 1951 American Indians had been wards of the U. S. Govern-
 ment for 127 years and would not likely be totally emancipated until the

year 2000. Although a federal policy of withdrawal of government services existed, no definite program or timetable had been established for liberating Indians. An article in The Commonweal in November, 1951, also noted the lack of definite methods for making Native Americans fully independent. The Bureau of Indian Affairs had opposed the Zimmerman Plan of gradual federal withdrawal of obligations and its categorization of tribes based upon their readiness for termination.⁹⁵ The present policy for handling Indian affairs seemed to be a pick-and-choose method of utilizing information gleaned from hearings on the various Indian affairs bills which had been introduced into Congress.

On December 12, 1951, Commissioner Myer addressed the combined assemblies of the Division of Christian Life and Work of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in Pennsylvania.⁹⁶ He spoke on "The Needs of the American Indian" and emphasized the importance of a harmonious relationship between Indians and the federal government. Myer cited that the main problem with Indians was their tie with land. The federal government was partially responsible for this because it had always tried to make Indians into farmers, ranchers, or stockmen over the years. He posed the question: what if Indians had no desire to be in one of these occupations related to land?

"In order to help the Indians in breaking out of this vicious cycle of poverty, paternalism and despair, we in the Bureau of Indian Affairs are now taking two major steps," the Commissioner said. "First, we are organizing a basic program of training and placement assistance for those Indians who want to leave the reservation areas."⁹⁷ Secondly, the Commissioner said the Bureau was starting consultations with Indians

who prefer to remain on reservations, to begin developing industrial programs aimed at taking the B.I.A. out of the picture and allowing the Indians to run their own affairs. In concluding his address Myer stressed the need of Native Americans to make improvements in health, education, and economy.

Myer seemed sincere in wanting to act in the best interest of Indians, but many people were skeptical because of the manner in which he performed his duties. Undoubtedly Myer was devoted to President Truman, and he reflected many qualities of the President. He was a straightforward man who sought to get things done despite criticism and opposition.

In summation during the second Truman administration, Native Americans would have fared better if the president had taken a more personal interest. Surely he advocated independence and individualism for American Indians and was compassionate towards minority people. National and world problems, however, forced Truman to rely on subordinates. By this time the Bureau of Indian Affairs had become "a slothful and lethargic bureaucracy" in the words of Warner Gardner, former Assistant Secretary of the Interior in the 1950s.⁹⁸ The ineffectiveness of the bureaucratic Indian Service prevented the prompt and effective handling of Indian affairs. Without Truman's personal supervision, Bureau officials had absolute control over the direction of Indian affairs. The dominance of the unpopular Dillon Myer aroused opposition from Indians and pro-Indian interest groups. In assessing federal-Indian relations during the second Truman administration, relations were hostile primarily because termination became the basis of federal Indian policy.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER III

THE TERMINATION YEARS: 1952-1955

During the first Eisenhower administration, the handling of Indian affairs by Commissioner Dillon S. Myer was severely criticized. Much of the criticism was due to the Bureau's imposed procedure for Indian tribes to follow in hiring attorneys. Ostensibly the federal government sought to protect the tribes from attorneys who might exploit Indians. Myer asserted that eventually the tribes should exercise choice in hiring attorneys although some tribes might still be vulnerable. Trial¹ and error experience would teach the Indians to be more independent.

In a statement before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on January 21, 1952, the Commissioner defended his stand. "It has been charged, . . . that we are depriving the Indians of their basic right to choose their own attorneys, that the Bureau is hand picking attorneys for the Indian tribes, that we are . . . developing a new type of paternalism, and that we are insisting on the selection of tribal attorneys who will be 'yes men' for the Bureau or the Commissioner. Everyone of these allegations is false." In addition "I have been called a 'blundering and dictatorial tin-Hitler' and a 'Hitler and Mussolini rolled into one.'" "Phrases such as 'drumhead justice,'

'despotic power,' 'arrogant misbehavior,' 'capricious and tyrannical' and 'disdainful disregard of Indian rights' have been hurled at me in national publications."²

Disregarding the insults Myer stated that Congress was concerned that disreputable lawyers might obtain tribal contracts and overcharge for legal services. Myer recommended legislation to permit the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to terminate attorney contracts at the tribe's request. Other safeguards included a minimum of three-year contracts for legal services to prevent tribal embarrassment from terminating contracts. Periodic reports on contracts between attorneys and tribes would also protect Indians from exploitation.³

Later in a speech before the annual meeting of the Association on American Indian Affairs in New York, Commissioner Myer emphasized in a stronger tone the danger of certain attorneys obtaining contracts for legal services with tribes. "I know of nothing more reprehensible than the malicious practice of frightening and confusing Indians by means of out-and-out falsehoods, distortion of facts or half truths for whatever purpose the perpetrators may have in mind. If ever there was a group of people who deserve to be dealt with fairly, forthrightly, and truthfully, it is the American Indian."⁴

Because of the heated protest over the proposed safeguard measures for tribal contracts and the criticism directed at Commissioner Myer, Secretary Chapman withdrew the proposed regulations. An editorial on January 30, 1952, in the Washington Post suggested that perhaps some of the protest originated from attorneys who lost tribal contracts rather than the protest coming from Indians. It added that Commissioner Myer's

efforts were justifiably sincere as exploitation of vulnerable tribes was quite possible, and only safeguards enacted into law in Congress could protect the Indians. In summation the editorial stated tribal hiring of attorneys was another step towards assimilating Indians with other Americans. "Perhaps the best way to end paternalism is to free the Indians to learn their own lessons, even though these lessons may be expensive. Certainly they will have to stand on their own feet when governmental safeguards are withdrawn."⁵

Some Indians desired removal of trust restrictions, or at least a modification of trust limitations over their properties. In a letter to Superintendent Theodore B. Hall at the Osage Agency on February 1, 1952, Commissioner Myer wrote that if the Osages were disturbed about limitations on mineral reserves that he would recommend changes to the Secretary of the Interior. He would ask for full removal of trust restrictions or modifications subject to the wishes of the Osages. The Bureau of Indian Affairs Myer claimed, "has no intention of injuring the Osage Indians in any way."⁶ Most of all, Myer stressed the tribe should reach a consensus to avoid discontent that might arise later.

Freedom from trust restrictions concerned other Indian groups who desired release of per capita payments from tribal trust accounts. At the end of February, 1952, Interior Secretary Chapman approved a \$300 per capita payment to approximately 1,900 Klamaths in Oregon. Funds for the payment, at the tribe's request, were provided from a sale of timber in December, 1951, which amounted to an estimated \$2.2 million.⁷

Meanwhile other Indians in the Pacific Northwest such as the Grande Ronde and Siletz "repeatedly expressed the desire to be free of

all supervision by the Government." Reportedly these people had inefficient government supervision in developing their lands. Insufficient funds and lack of government personnel prevented adequate aid to the Indians, convincing the Siletz to believe they could handle their properties better alone. Practically all of the Siletz people had integrated into the nearby white community. But frequently county officials discriminated against the Siletz when enforcing laws because of misunderstanding of their wardship status under federal trust regulations.⁹ Many local people believed that Indians who owned non-trust property and paid taxes on property could not sue or be sued.

On March 18, 1952, Congressman Frank T. Bow of Ohio introduced a resolution before the House Committee on Insular Affairs "to conduct a full . . . investigation . . . of the activities . . . of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, with particular reference to . . . studying . . . groups of Indians in order to determine those which are qualified to manage their own affairs." Reports submitted would produce "a list of those Indian tribes, bands, and groups, . . . qualified to be relieved of all Federal supervision and control in the management of their affairs, and shall contain specific legislative proposals designed for . . . termination of Federal supervision and control over the Indians at the earliest possible time."¹⁰

Discussion of the Bow resolution in the House of Representatives induced Congresswoman Reva Bosone of Utah to speak out since it related to her House Joint Resolution 8. "Basically the resolution represents a fundamental change in our attitude toward the Indian," said Bosone. "In the past--for over a hundred years, in fact--we have tried to 'take care'

of the Indian. In the future I believe we should try to prepare the Indian to take care of himself." She added, "let us do whatever has to be done to prepare all of the other Indians to accept their responsibilities at the earliest possible moment."¹¹

Shortly, House Resolution 7489 and House Resolution 7491 were introduced in Congress to remove trust restrictions from the Grande¹² Ronde and California Indians. In the Senate Arthur Watkins of Utah introduced Senate Bill 3004 to terminate federal supervision of Oregon Indians under jurisdiction of the Grande Ronde and Siletz Agencies. Watkins, a zealot of termination, claimed these Indians comprise "numerous small bands, tribes, groups, and individuals." They number about 2,100 individuals scattered in "Western Oregon between the Cascade Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, from the Columbia River in the North to the California border in the South," and were well on the road to assimilating with the local white communities. About 800 of the Indians maintained no tribal organization or affiliation, and only 700 were members of the loosely organized Confederated Tribes of the Siletz Indians. The remaining 500 Indians were organized as the Confederated Tribes of the Grande Ronde Community under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Watkins added that the bill was in accord with the policy of the Interior Department and Congress to terminate federal supervision over Indians and properties when they were ready to assume direction of their own affairs.¹³ "In my opinion," he said, "the Indians concerned have reached that goal."

Regarding California Indians, Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico introduced Senate Bill 3005 to partially end federal supervision over them. Only the Agua Caliente Band of Mission Indians were exempted.

Indian lands throughout the state totaled approximately 630,561 acres. Allotted Indian lands consisted of 1,077 acres, public domain allotments contained about 128,884 acres, and 2,469 allotments of reservation land included an estimated 57,421 acres. Unallotted Indian trust land was distributed among 115 reservations and rancherias ranging from 15 acres to 104,000 acres and totaling about 476,579 acres.¹⁴ Approximately 31,000 Indians lived on these lands, of which there were only about 7,000 full-bloods.¹⁵

Disagreement over these two bills resulted in a heated argument between Felix Cohen, attorney for the Association on American Indian Affairs, and Commissioner Myer. Cohen stated that the California bill set no time limit for termination of the wardship status of the California Indians, nor did it prepare them for self-government. Furthermore the bill did not include responsibilities of the state of California to provide public services for its Indian citizens; the prime objective of the program established by the Johnson O'Malley Act, 1934. Cohen concluded his charges by saying that the Indian Bureau was reinstating forced patents, forced allotments, forced per capita distribution of tribal funds, and applying a dictatorial control of Indian property. "In fact," Cohen accused, "those features of 19th century Indian administration which have given rise to the most notorious scandals and the worst infringements of Indian property rights are all brought back to life by the pending bill."¹⁶

Oliver La Farge, an author from New Mexico and a zealous advocate of Indian rights, also opposed termination legislation pertaining to California Indians. He stated that no arrangements had been made to

insure continuing services for Indian citizens. La Farge called the affair "dishonest, immoral and an affront to the dignity and honor of the United States."¹⁷

Responding to the criticism Commissioner Myer defensively stated, "No additional legislation is needed to authorize negotiations with State agencies to provide special services to Indians." The Commissioner continued, "it is our belief that with the termination of the trust status of Indian property most special services for Indians will no longer be needed or justified."¹⁸ California Indians were believed to be well assimilated with other American citizens in the state, but if necessary, supplemental legislation would be enacted to solve special problems.

Termination of federal protection and "liberation" of Indians caused a serious problem in the amount of local attention aroused. Passage of termination legislation in Congress excited local citizens because it meant Indian lands would become available. Non-Indians expected to obtain the lands at a fraction of the appraised value. The new owners could develop them for profit, or re-sell the lands at higher prices. In one unusual case in August, 1951, 800 acres of rich timberland in Oregon belonging to Indians was sold for \$135,000. The non-Indian purchaser immediately resold the land to a third party for \$165,000 and the property was sold to another buyer for \$300,000, who offered to sell the same land to a prospective buyer for \$800,000.¹⁹

In addition, tribal members, upon receiving per capita payments for tribal lands after termination, squandered their money. Many Indians were easily influenced and persuaded to spend per capita money on new

cars, trucks, and television sets. In areas where Indians were to receive money from land sales it was claimed to be common practice for merchants to inflate prices and give every "soon to be rich Indian" credit.

Commissioner Myer advised the tribes to use per capita payments wisely. Some did. After receiving a \$31.7 million payment from a decision of the Indian Claims Commission, the Southern Utes implemented a program to improve education, health, and general living conditions. After studying the Indian program and not satisfied with it, Myer submitted specific guidelines for the Utes to follow. In a letter to Area Director Charles Graves at Albuquerque, New Mexico on April 25, 1952, Myer advised that the Utes should be in continuous consultation with Bureau officials. Most of all, the Ute program should be firmly based upon tribal resources following a careful inventory of the physical assets available, and a specific plan for using resources to the best advantage of the tribe. In conclusion Myer strongly advised against per capita payments. "I would like to call your attention also to . . . a per capita payment of \$8,000 to each member of the tribe. This proposed plan is not acceptable because it would not be to the best interests of the Southern Ute people."

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In another instance concerning the Menominee Tribe in an advisory council at Keshena, Wisconsin in April, 1952, Commissioner Myer reiterated his position on per capita payments. Indians as well as the federal officials were responsible for developing tribal programs he persisted, and tribal members should be willing to contribute towards their own progress.

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In an effort to study the progress of other Indian tribes, the Bureau of Indian Affairs evaluated the Florida Seminoles. In a report made to the Agency at Dania, Florida in early June, 1952, the Seminoles, contrary to popular belief, were found to live not in the inaccessible Everglades.²² Instead they resided along the Tamiami Trail, a highway from Tampa to Miami that went through three reservations: Big Cypress, Brighton and Dania. The Seminoles were dependent upon tourists for income derived from sale of souvenirs, guided tours through the Everglades, and display of cultural practices. The Indians had never adopted white American ways even though they were in constant contact with whites. The Seminoles numbered 843 and they were certainly not prepared for termination.²³

On the first of July, 1952, another resolution in the House of Representatives called for an overall study of Indian progress. Congressman James J. Delany from New York submitted House Resolution 706 "to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior to study the respective tribes, bands, and groups of Indians under his jurisdiction to determine their qualifications to manage their own affairs without supervision and control by the Federal Government."²⁴ Representative Bow, who had introduced a similar resolution in March, stated that the legislation was necessary to continue withdrawal of federal supervision. Bow added withdrawal legislation was in keeping with the Zimmerman Plan of 1947, which divided tribes into three categories for termination, and that nothing had been done since then. He commented further that Congress instead of the B.I.A. should study the tribes to determine their readiness for termination. He concluded that the Indian Bureau should be investigated for incompetency.

During the debate on the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the House of Representatives, Delany introduced House Resolution 698. The clerk read the resolution. "Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, acting as a whole or by subcommittee is authorized and directed to conduct a full . . . study of the activities and operations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs."²⁵ After considerable discussion on the floor, the resolution was tabled.

Commissioner Myer attempted to withdraw federal supervision of Indian affairs to prepare tribes for termination. Ironically the Indian Commissioner was working himself out of a job and ending other Bureau positions. He tried to prepare Indians for assimilation with other citizens, thus ending federal recognition of "Indians." Myer stated that federal policy deemed Indians as museum pieces whose lifestyle was no longer viable in the Atomic Age.

In July, 1952 and in the following months Myer visited various Indian communities throughout the United States iterating the philosophy of federal "withdrawal" policy. In meeting with the Red Lake Tribal Business Association at Red Lake Reservation in Minnesota, the Commissioner advised the Indians on the future. "The Indians should set down and look to the future; I think it (independence) is a good idea. I want to learn the problems of all reservations; I want to work with Indians but not to do the work for them."²⁶ Indians "will have to plan²⁷ their programs for the time when there may be no Indian Bureau."

Indians and supporters criticized Myer's position on "winding up the Indian Bureau" and termination. They charged him with increasing control over the hiring of attorneys by Indians and placing new restrictions upon Indian delegations who traveled to Washington to submit

grievances. Indians protested that the Bureau curtailed their individual rights regarding land use, denied them the right to spend their funds or to hold free elections.²⁸ Undoubtedly Myer was the oligarch of Indian affairs. Nevertheless Myer seemed determined to dissolve the Bureau of Indian Affairs and, as he put it, liberate Native Americans, thus providing them the privileges and rights guaranteed in the United States Constitution.

Throughout the 1952 presidential election year, Republican candidate Dwight Eisenhower voiced similar sentiments in urging full justice for all American Indians. During a campaign visit to the Southwest, the Gallup Independent reported that Eisenhower was soliciting the Navajo vote. He recalled Indian heroes of his childhood, saying he admired them. He then commended the Indian soldiers who served courageously under him in World War II.²⁹ "All Indians are citizens of the United States and no longer should be denied full enjoyment of their rights of citizenship," he stated. "We shall eliminate the existing shameful waste by the Bureau of Indian Affairs which has obstructed the accomplishment of our national responsibility for improving the condition of our Indian friends. We pledge to undertake programs to provide the Indians with equal opportunities for education, health protection and economic development." He added, "the next Republican Administration will welcome the advice and counsel of Indian leaders in selecting the Indian Commissioner."³⁰

Eisenhower and Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson campaigned on such issues as the Korean conflict, and Myer continued to dominate Indian affairs. In August, 1952, Commissioner Myer sent a memorandum on

"Withdrawal programming" to all Bureau officials.³¹ He emphasized the need for cooperation and coordination with Indians. "We must lend every encouragement to Indian initiative and leadership," he said. "I realize that it will not be possible always to obtain Indian cooperation. . . . In addition to the importance of consultation with Indians, I wish also to stress Indian participation with respect to negotiations with states, political subdivisions of states, and federal agencies, where such negotiations relate to Bureau withdrawal."³²

It is very likely that many Indians were persuaded to think that withdrawal of federal supervision was best for them. Indians who supported Eisenhower for the presidency did not anticipate the repercussions of his termination policies. Certainly Stevenson's lackluster effort to gain the Indian vote in the Southwest helped Eisenhower. While passing through New Mexico, Stevenson spoke in Albuquerque while the Navajo Fair was occurring at Window Rock, 200 miles away. A short plane flight to there to speak to the Indians might have gained votes for³³ Stevenson.

On September 15, 1952, termination began for five Oklahoma tribes. The Shawnee, Ottawa, Wyandot, Quapaw, and Seneca-Cayuga Tribes³⁴ requested removal of some federal trust restrictions on their lands. All five tribes were under the Quapaw Sub-Agency of the Muskogee Area Office. Reportedly the Indians of these small tribes had reached an advanced state in handling their affairs; the Ottawas and the Wyandots wanted complete removal of trust restrictions. The others requested partial removal as not all of their tribal members were prepared for total integration with other Americans without federal protection.

Interestingly, each of the tribes numbered less than 300 members except the Seneca-Cayugas who had 950 members. Their small populations made retention of tribal organizations and programs, which large tribes could maintain, difficult. The smallness of the Indian groups also enabled members to more readily blend with the local communities. Members of the small tribes did not depend on federal services to any extent.

On the whole, Indians feared the consequences of total withdrawal of federal supervision and protection. In mid-September 1952 Commissioner Myer met with Indians from the Nez Perce and Coeur d'Alene reservations in the Pacific Northwest to discuss relationships with the federal government. The Indians claimed that they were running their tribal affairs efficiently. There was continuous agitation for dissolving the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and they were afraid their reservations would be liquidated. As for the federal policy directive to absorb Indians into American society, one Indian voiced his opinion vehemently. "For anyone to say that soon we are going to have all Indians in the society of the white race doesn't go over very good with me. I am proud to be an Indian."³⁵

"I just want to say, I never stated and never expect to state that we are out to liquidate reservations," Commissioner Myer said in defense. "I feel strongly that the lands that are held in trust by the government belong to the Indians, and what is done with those lands should be determined by the Indians rather than by me or anybody else, and even though I think the time has come when there will be no Indian Bureau, I hope that those Indians that want to continue to own tribal or individual lands can continue to do so."³⁶

Responding to the termination movement, former Commissioner Collier, organizer of the Institute of Ethnic Affairs, attacked Dillon Myer. In a letter dated October 9, 1952, Collier charged that Myer had "coerced the Indian Bureau into becoming an instrument toward his single purpose" of termination. He has built for himself and his objectives a strong, informal, bi-party Congressional machine," Collier exclaimed. "He has regressively transformed the Indian Bureau and driven out many of its best personnel; he has multiplied administrative controls over Indian groups and personal life, even going so far as to seek the power to make arrests and searches and seizures without warrant for violation of any of his administrative regulations." Collier added, "he has doubled the Indian Bureau's appropriations, and sought to have them trebled in 1953."³⁷

Undoubtedly Collier opposed Myer's handling of Indian affairs because Myer strove to destroy the Indian programs that he had established during the 1930s and 1940s. Tribal governments, Indian schools, clinics and hospitals for Native Americans were unnecessary according to Myer. They segregated Indians from the rest of society and hindered their progress in becoming middle-class Americans. Commissioner Myer also contrived to abrogate the "revolving loan fund" and all programs that were instituted under the Indian Reorganization Act of the New Deal period.

Commissioner Myer sent a memorandum on August 5, 1952, to clarify the position of the Indian Bureau. "I would suggest that the tribal representatives participate fully with the Bureau of Indian Affairs not only in analyzing the tribe's situation," he advised, "But in formulating a program which will be their program and will look to the step-by-step transfer

of present Indian service responsibility either to the Indian people themselves or to other governmental agencies." ³⁸ He then reiterated the need for a coalition of Indians and the federal government to collaborate on withdrawal procedures. Still, Myer's hard-set approach towards termination, right-wing conservatism, was questioned.

In early November, 1952 Commissioner Myer responded to Marion Gridley, editor and publisher of The Amerindian, concerning her questions about termination legislation involving California Indians. Hearings on H. R. 7490 were conducted three times before a Subcommittee of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and H. R. 7491, a similar bill, was tabled as a matter of convenience with consent from its sponsor, Norris Poulson of California. A companion bill, S. 3005, which Senators Anderson and Watkins introduced, was pending because Congress adjourned before further action could be taken on it or any of the bills.

Regarding what would happen to disabled Indians in California, Commissioner Myer assured Gridley that Johnson O'Malley contracts between the federal government and state agencies would provide medical services to them. The granting of additional power to the Secretary of the Interior was also proposed in the termination legislation which Gridley questioned. The Indian Commissioner stated additional power was necessary to carry out termination and provide protection to Indians during the terminal period. Myer added that Indians 50 years or older at the time when a land patent is issued would be granted a lifetime tax exemption. Tax exemption for a period of five years was provided those individuals less ³⁹ than 50 years old.

On December 7, 1952, Myer campaigned for reappointment as Commissioner of Indian Affairs at the Western Governors' Conference held in

Phoenix, Arizona. He spoke optimistically on "Indian Administration: Problems and Goals."⁴⁰ His effort gained the support from Governors Earl Warren of California and Arthur Langlie of Washington and other state officials.⁴¹ He based his campaign upon his two and one-half years administration of "withdrawal" of federal supervision to liberate Native Americans from their trust status wardship, and transfer of federal services to the state level for individual Amerindians.

Former Commissioner of Indian Affairs Collier severely criticized Myer and opposed his reappointment. Collier regarded Myer's campaign statement as misleading, citing that Myer had almost trebled annual expenditures of the Indian Bureau at \$122 million.⁴² Furthermore, "by contrast, Commissioner Myer's withdrawal" had the effect of "(1) enormously increasing Indian controls while (2) seeking, regardless of Indian consent, the demolition of Federal services to Indians, and (3) destroying the protections which enable the Indians to stay in possession of their own lands, water rights, etc."⁴³ Collier's indictment of Myer led to further opposition to the Indian Commissioner's reappointment.

In November, 1952 Dwight Eisenhower was easily elected President of the United States. Indians regarded him a friend and they immediately asked for his assistance. Juan de Jesus Romero, Governor of Taos Pueblo, congratulated Eisenhower on his victory. "We know that all the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico are happy with your election and we sincerely hope that you will keep your word . . . and help the Indian people."⁴⁴ Supporters who represented Indian interest groups advocated that Myer be replaced as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Despite criticism and pressure to remove him from office, Myer pushed on with the Termination Program.

The annual report for 1952 for the Aberdeen, South Dakota Area Office indicated that Myer's zealous efforts to decentralize the Bureau of Indian Affairs was begging to materialize in Washington. "Transfer of certain personnel, recruitment of other personnel, rearrangement of office space, and general expansion of facilities" signified transition⁴⁵ of federal obligations and services to Indians through area offices. Diversity of bureaucracy in this fashion of expansion promoted the significance of area offices, transferring more authority to Bureau officials at area offices. According to plan the skeletal staff at the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington would supervise Indian business in a "house keeping" manner.

The aim of federal Indian policy under Myer was to prepare Indians for assimilation. While area office personnel concentrated on Indian affairs in local regions, Congress studied and entertained bills to integrate Indians into American society. On January 7, 1953, Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois introduced a bill to establish a federal commission on civil rights and privileges. The bill proposed "to promote observance of the civil rights of all individuals; and to aid in eliminating discrimination in employment because of race, creed, or color."⁴⁶ Additional study was required which left the bill pending.

Another bill introduced in the Senate on the same day, Senate Bill 132, proposed to "transfer the administration of health services for Indians and the operation of Indian hospitals to the United States Public Health Service."⁴⁷ This proposition provoked Indian opposition. Commissioner Myer and other Bureau officials who supported the legislation were criticized. The ominous bill attempted to halt special treatment of Native

Americans by decreasing federal services. A reduction in cost for Indian health care was in accord with the overall retrenchment program of the federal government.

Indian groups called for Myer's removal as Commissioner. On January 9, 1953, Juliet Saxton, President of the Santa Fe Branch of American Association of University Women, wrote Eisenhower. "The man who must fill this position is responsible for the advancement or retro-⁴⁸gression of over four hundred thousand American citizens." Mrs.

William Hudnut, Jr., Chairperson of Indian Committee of the Council of Church Women, wrote Eisenhower if he kept his pledge, it would be the first time in history that Indians would be consulted in naming the Com-⁴⁹missioner of Indian Affairs. An article in the New York Times also noted the possibility of this unprecedented action. The importance of the job meant "the necessity of filling it with a man who will have sympathetic understanding of the unique and complex problem of the relation-⁵⁰ship between the American Indian and the Federal Government."

The Blackfeet Tribal Council assured Eisenhower that the tribe "wishes you every success in you administration of the affairs of our great nation during this next four years," and they added, "We feel that your declaration . . . in your inaugural address was reassurance to us that you intend to carry out your pledge to allow minority groups a voice in determination of their destiny and especially that you will allow America's oldest minority the American Indian a voice in the selection of⁵¹ a Commissioner of Indian Affairs." In February, 1953, Acting Secretary to the President Thomas E. Stephens wrote Douglas McKay, Secretary of the Interior, that "The President is anxious to know what is being done to ful-⁵²fill the plank in the platform and the pledges he made in his speeches."

The study of termination in Congress and federal withdrawal action provoked considerable opposition throughout the United States. Indian interest organizations and tribal groups were upset with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and they blamed Myer as the chief instigator for the liquidation of Indian services. They wanted him out of the Bureau. Under considerable pressure and criticism, Dillon Myer resigned as Commissioner of Indian Affairs on March 20, 1953.

Myer utilized the same prompt actions in handling Indian matters as he had in the Japanese Relocation Program, thus making him appear ruthless and inhumane towards Indians. Although both he and Congress advocated termination, Myer's office was merely a liaison for federal-Indian relations. Congressional committee members on Indian Affairs actually initiated and dictated federal Indian policy; Myer was condemned because federal policy was carried out through his office.

For the next several weeks President Eisenhower was deeply involved in the final stages of the Korean crisis, but he set about looking for a new Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He cautiously studied several candidates whom Indians might approve; a new commissioner was not selected until July.

Discussion in the 83rd Congress included termination legislation for several Indian tribes, including the Menominees, one of the largest tribes affected. As of June, 1952 the Menominees numbered 3,059 members who owned 233,902 acres in trust. ⁵³ Much disagreement occurred over termination of the Menominees partially because a per capita payment of \$1,500 was pending. Assistant Secretary of the Interior Department Orme Lewis opposed the payment stating that the Menominees were already economically

self-sustaining. "Approximately two-thirds of the tribal members derived their livelihood from work in the tribal forests or in the sawmill and the other one-third are employed for the most part off the reservation."⁵⁴ Debate on termination of the Menominees continued, intensifying federal-Indian conflicts.

In early June, 1953 Congress entertained a resolution that later proved a most important step towards termination of all tribes. Senator Jackson introduced House Concurrent Resolution 108.⁵⁵ His action attempted to assist in defining the policy of the federal government on Indian affairs. The first part of the resolution reads as follows:

Whereas it is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to grant them all of the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship; and

Whereas the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States should assume their full responsibilities as American citizens.⁵⁶

During the following weeks congressional members discussed the resolution in session, but most of their attention was focused on the situation in Korea.

On June 22, 1953, the Shawano Journal reported on Senator Watkins', Chairman of the Senate's Indian Subcommittee, meeting with Menominee leaders at Keshena, Wisconsin. Watkins, a leading proponent of termination, tried to convince the Menominees that the federal government had mismanaged their tribal affairs. "You don't want that kind of management any longer," he told the Indian council.⁵⁷ He then suggested that the Menominees were capable of running their own affairs much better

without federal intervention. Congress was also prepared to turn over the entire reservation and assets to the tribe including the \$1,500 per capita payments.

Earlier in February, 1953, Senator Watkins stated in a joint hearing on Indian affairs that Native Americans were well integrated with other Americans. He charged that Indians were being selfish. "They want all the benefits of the things we have, highways, schools, hospitals, everything that civilization furnished, but they don't want to help pay their share of it." The Senator added that he had twice been chairman of committees in Congress, and he had "never heard of many objections by an Indian about being an American citizen except in two or three cases."⁵⁸

In the latter part of February Watkins met with Representative William H. Harrison of Wyoming and Assistant Secretary Lewis to plan immediate procedures for termination. Transfer of federal services to proper public bodies would decentralize the Indian Bureau. Distribution of tribal assets to Indian groups or individuals was listed. Also suggested was transfer of trust responsibilities for Indian land to individuals or groups. Rehabilitation legislation was recommended to prepare Native Americans for successful livelihoods after termination.⁵⁹ In short, Watkins believed termination was a liberating force--he compared it with the Emancipation of Proclamation.⁶⁰

Senator Watkins exerted considerable influence in congressional action on Indian affairs. The 66 year old senator from Utah had spent his life there as a farmer, a lawyer, and as a local political official.⁶¹ Watkins was a devout member of the Mormon Church. Upon winning a seat in the Senate in 1946, Watkins established himself as an Old Guard

Conservative of the Republican Party. Undoubtedly his political beliefs and Mormon background accounted for his paternal approach in negotiating with the Menominees and other Indians. His paternalistic attitude exemplified Republican thinking in Congress that Indians needed to be told what to do in preparing for termination. Years later in an interview Watkins described his forceful actions in Indian affairs as a right-wing terminationist. "I was chairman of the Indian Subcommittee of the Interior Committee of the Senate. For a number of years, at least while the Republicans were in power, and I put over a lot of projects for the Indians, along with my western associates,"⁶²

The minutes of the General Council of the Menominee meeting with Senator Watkins revealed that he was impressed after seeing a portion of the reservation. Upon observing homes, farms, growing timber, and the sawmill, Senator Watkins alluded to the favorable progress the Menominees were making. "I think that what I have seen compares very favorably with many of the smaller communities of the United States, either Indians or whites."⁶³

Watkins continued to convince the Menominees that termination was best for them. "I believe you are destined to take a great part in the future of this country. I am sure that just as soon as you have the confidence and ability to take care of yourselves, you should be demanding it because only then can you develop as God intended you to develop."

After Watkins spoke, Gordon Keshena, a Menominee, responded to the issue of termination. "Senator Watkins, you made the statement that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been in business for 125 years. During all this period they told the Menominees everything they could do. Every-

thing we wanted to do, we had to go to the Bureau and ask them: 'Can we do this? Can we do that?' You cannot ask the people to go on their own and govern themselves now when for all those years they have not been permitted to do anything for themselves. I agree with you that the time will come when these people can manage their own affairs but that should be a gradual process."

Senator Watkins then responded. "You people are no different than the rest of us. The only difference I can see is due to Uncle Sam insisting on keeping tab on you. All you have to do is to agree now to grow up--that you are no longer children; that you are able to look the world in the face as free Americans, and ask to be regarded as first class citizens."

James Dick, another Menominee, then spoke, "You mentioned, Honorable Senator, how beautiful it is here. Think of our beautiful rivers and lakes and forests. If our reservation is ever allotted we are lost. Maybe we would have to pay to take a swim in these lakes after a while." The Menominees feared the same could happen to other tribes.

Besides the Menominees, federal action prepared other tribes for termination. On June 30, 1953, the Muskogee Area Office reported that withdrawal programs were implemented for the Five Civilized Tribes, certain Indians of the Quapaw Agency, and the Mississippi Choctaws. In addition withdrawal programs for the Coushatta and Chitimacha groups in Louisiana, Cherokees on the Kenwood Reservation, and the Thlpothlocco Creek Tribal Town were being studied. ⁶⁴ These program studies were worked out with B.I.A. staff members, tribal officers, and other Indian leaders of the area office region, and presented to the Washington office for study and action.

On the same day the Department of Interior reported it had discussed termination of federal responsibilities and gained the approval of tribal groups in western Oregon and California, Klamaths of Oregon, Alabama-Coushattas of Texas, and the Prairie Island Band of Minnesota to remove federal supervision. Preliminary termination programing included the Osages of Oklahoma, the Colvilles and Spokanes of Washington, the Flatheads of Montana, and the Menominees of Wisconsin.⁶⁵ Additional termination action closed three Bureau hospitals, and local public school authorities took over operation of 16 of the Bureau's day schools and assumed the academic work at three boarding schools. The transfer affected approximately 1,100 Indian students.⁶⁶

Fulfilling his campaign promises President Eisenhower went about selecting a Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Alva Simpson, Jr., State Welfare Director of Santa Fe, New Mexico, was a leading candidate. Oklahoma Indians supported Harry J. W. Belvin, a noted Choctaw leader. Glenn Emmons, a banker from Gallup was another leading candidate and had support from the Navajos and other southwestern Indians. He was Eisenhower's choice and was asked to become the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs.⁶⁷

Accepting the position, Emmons declared his policy on Indian affairs was to "liquidate the trusteeship of Indians as quickly as possible." He cautioned "that in promoting self-sufficiency the Government must not pull out and leave 'unprepared' Indians to fend for themselves."⁶⁸ Tribes should reclaim land and develop tribal industries in preparation for a gradual withdrawal of federal responsibilities. The government would provide jobs and training for Indians, which Emmons believed was an important step towards making tribes independent. Then the members of the tribes would become independent of their tribes.

The banker from Gallup was widely accepted among Indians in the Southwest. He had lived most of his life in New Mexico, and he was sympathetic to Indian needs and their conditions. The Indian Rights Association also implied that tribes were pleased with the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs--especially the Navajos whose abominable living conditions were known nationwide.⁶⁹

A faction of Oklahoma Indians objected to Emmons being Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Robert Goombi, a leading Kiowa spokesman, informed President Eisenhower that a number of Oklahoma Indians were disappointed. "This appointment was made to please the non-Indian political interests of the west," the Kiowa protested.⁷⁰ To some degree Emmons was also opposed in the Senate. Langer charged that New Mexicans generally make "unsatisfactory" Indian Commissioners. Langer added, "we have one Indian Commissioner after another, all coming from New Mexico."⁷¹ The Senator protested further that North Dakota, his home state, had not received its share of appointments to federal positions.

The National Congress of American Indians also objected to the appointment of Emmons. Frank George, the Executive Secretary of the NCAI, led the opposition of the Indian protestors which had the support of the old Indian Bureau officials.⁷² Rumor had the NCAI collaborating with Senator Langer to defeat Emmons' appointment. They failed.

Like Myer, Emmons also advocated termination, but he had a better rapport with Indians in the Southwest. He was knowledgeable in the ways of Southwestern Indians; as a banker in Gallup he loaned money to Indians who were considered poor risks. Emmons sincerely believed that termination was best for Indians, if they were to improve their livelihood. He felt

Native Americans should be prepared for termination; therefore he advocated a gradual withdrawal of Federal supervision. Then, American Indians would have full opportunity to exercise judgment without government trust restrictions hindering them. Unlike Meyer and Watkins, Emmons was a liberal terminationist who displayed sensitivity towards Indians while carrying out his duties.

In July, 1953 Congress took action on legislation initiating a termination movement in the 1950s and early 1960s. House Concurrent Resolution 108 was approved in Congress, receiving a favorable report from the Indian Affairs Subcommittee and the Interior Committee on July 15, 1953. The resolution was then placed on the unanimous consent calendar and reached the floor of the House on July 27, arousing little discussion. The committee accepted one amendment to the resolution. Ironically, legislation of this magnitude in influencing Indian affairs passed amid a series of minor bills without serious debate.⁷³

On August 1, 1953 Congress adopted House Resolution 108. Although it was not a law, it expressed the will of Congress, and it made fundamental changes in Indian policy and became the basis of federal Indian policy in the 1950s. The resolution proposed to abrogate federal supervision over the tribes as quickly as possible and to subject the Indians to the same laws, privileges, and responsibilities as other citizens of the United States.⁷⁴

The resolution included the removal of federal supervision and control of tribes and their individual members located in California, Florida, New York and Texas. Termination was applicable to the Flathead Tribe of Montana, Klamath of Oregon, Menominee of Wisconsin, Potawatomi

of Kansas and Nebraska, and members of the Chippewa Tribe located on the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota. In addition those federal offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which served Indians in California, Florida, New York and Texas would be abolished. Furthermore the Secretary of Interior should examine existing legislation with these Indians and their treaties with the United States government, and report his study and recommendations for termination no later than January 1, 1954.⁷⁵

Commissioner Emmons stated that the Department of Interior supported HCR 108. Secretary of Interior McKay and Assistant Secretary Lewis believed termination of certain semi-independent tribes would reduce federal paternalism.⁷⁶ In response, opposers of the resolution deemed that termination procedure would necessitate more federal control over Indian affairs to make it successful, meaning more paternalism.

Congressional action on HCR 108 provoked opposition from Indians across the country. The Osages of Oklahoma, who were included in House Resolution 108, appeared before the House Committee of Congress requesting that they be stricken from the list of tribes consigned for termination. Senator Jackson stated that the Osages pleaded with the House Committee that their people were not prepared for termination. The resolution was amended, dropping the Osages from the list.⁷⁷

Other Indian groups objected but they could do very little if they were on the list. They lacked legal expertise and congressional influence, making them easy targets. Thus federal recognition of these groups as tribes was dissolved. All federal obligations and services were then transferred to states. Termination meant the destruction of

tribal culture and lifestyle as withdrawal of federal services was intended to individualize and integrate Amerindians with the rest of society. This was the concern of many Indians. Others desired withdrawal of federal supervision and trust status. They claimed that wardship hindered their progress. Trust status as a protective device prevented them from selling portions of their lands to raise capital to develop the remainder. They disliked being wards because they resented federal officials telling them what to do.

In July, 1953, the Menominee Advisory Council passed a resolution requesting termination. The Council asked Congressman Melvin Laird of Wisconsin to introduce a bill in the House of Representatives to withdraw federal supervision. During the voting on a tribal resolution 147
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Menominees favored termination and none opposed.

Some tribesmen never did understand the full ramifications of termination, especially the elders of Indian groups, who were usually leaders. Many did not comprehend English well enough to understand what
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termination entailed. However, rank and file were afraid of termination and its repercussions. Addressing Senator Watkins at a meeting, John Fossum expressed concern for his tribesmen. "I do not think it is right to make a guinea pig of our one tribe. I do not think you yourself would like to see half of these people die of starvation."
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As a result government officials advised these people and exercised considerable influence over them.

HCR 108 and related legislation sought to liquidate applications made under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. These included abrogation of tribal constitutions and abolishment of Indian corporations

based on the Indian Reorganization Act, and negation of treaties as the basis of Indian rights. Congress believed it was assisting Indians and improving their livelihood, but increasingly Indians believed that the federal government "was out to get them."

Understandably, Commissioner Emmons did not like such words as "termination" and "withdrawal." HCR 108 named 13 tribes for withdrawal of trust status, but Congress terminated only six groups. One Indian Bureau official asserted that officials knew well that HCR 108 shocked Indians across the nation; and he hoped Congress would not enact any more termination legislation until it studied what happened to the six. ⁸¹

Although Indians generally opposed termination, they lacked the means to contest it. The National Congress of American Indians, founded in 1944, was the only nationwide pan-Indian organization. It lacked adequate funding and support to protest, and the tribes lacked the resources to confront termination.

Two weeks after Congress adopted HCR 108, it contemplated passing House Resolution 1063 as another termination measure. The proposal would extend state jurisdiction over Indian reservations. Red Lake Reservation of Minnesota and Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon ⁸² were to be exceptions. H. R. 1063 authorized any state to amend its constitution to assume both civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indian country within the state.

These proposals produced strong protests from all Indian organizations because they did not allow "consultation" with Indians or "consent" from Indians whose reservations would be placed under state jurisdiction. President Eisenhower received great pressure to approve

the proposals which would implement Public Law 280. Senator Edward J. Thye of Minnesota assured him, "If gains are ever to be made to integrate Indian people as full-fledged citizens it is vital that H. R. 1063 become law by your signature."⁸³

President Eisenhower reluctantly approved Public Law 280 on August 15, 1953. He stated, "I have grave doubts as to the wisdom of certain political equality to all Indians in our nation."⁸⁴ On the morning the President signed the bill, Senator Butler telegraphed the White House to express his encouragement. Two days later Eisenhower responded, "I expressed the hope that Congress would amend the bill at its next session, to require consultation with the Indians prior to the enactment of legislation subjecting them to state jurisdiction."⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the bills introduced for amending P. L. 280 in the 84th and 85th Congresses failed.⁸⁶

Public Law 280 enhanced the decentralization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. With the states enacting civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indian country, the states also assumed federal services and obligations to Native Americans. Although Indians were to be treated like other Americans, state officials frequently opposed Public Law 280 because of its transferred responsibilities. States would have to spend more tax dollars to provide state services to its Indian citizens. Providing services to Indians also meant dealing with the complexities of Indian affairs which state officials wanted to avoid.

On September 2, 1953, soon after Emmons took office, President Eisenhower urged him to investigate conditions among Indians in the states by becoming acquainted with Native Americans and inquiring about

their problems. "This administration, as you know, has pledged itself to consult with the Indian people of this country, and to give them every opportunity for a full expression of their desires, their suggestions, their hopes and aspirations," said Eisenhower. "In order to fulfill this pledge, I am asking you, as my personal representative, to go into their territory during the next several months and meet with each of the major tribal groups of this country."⁸⁷

While visiting with the Minnesota Chippewas' Tribal Executive Committee and members at Cass Lake on September 18, 1953, Emmons conveyed the President's desire to consult with Native Americans about their affairs. "Like the President, I have no sympathy whatever for what is sometimes called 'second-class citizenship'," stated the Commissioner. "I believe that discrimination has no place in a country such as ours and that we should combat it vigorously wherever we discover it being practiced." Emmons then alluded to his support of House Concurrent Resolution 108 and Public Law 280 stating that the legislation would actually benefit Indians. "Like all other friends of the Indians, I was particularly pleased by the action taken by the Congress, in wiping off the books or modifying a series of laws which have been for many years a form of discrimination against the Indian people."⁸⁸

Chippewas of the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota opposed House Concurrent Resolution 108. They protested its provisions which listed them for termination. In October, 1953, 11 Chippewas signed a petition and sent it to the House of Representatives, the Senate, and to the Secretary of the Interior. They recommended "that no further action be taken by the Congress in said matter under said resolution; and

that the Congress of the United States enact no legislation . . . freeing said Indians from federal supervision and control." Otherwise consequences "would result in untold distress and suffering among these enrolled Indians, and would be substantially to their economic disadvantage."⁸⁹

The Turtle Mountain Indians were adamant in opposing termination but did not escape its grasp. Several months later a Chippewa woman of the reservation stated what the status of Indians was after being terminated. "We can't make it without the Federal Government, A few of us have made it maybe, but not whole tribes. Chief Little Shell's people, who were terminated out of North Dakota, my own tribe could not make it."⁹⁰ Obviously many Turtle Mountain Chippewas were not ready for termination, leaving them open to exploitation.

Terminationists like Watkins exuded little patience in dealing with Indians. The Senator asserted Indian treaty rights obstructed the federal government's plenary power in handling Indian affairs. "You now have become citizens of the one nation," Watkins told a group of Indians. "Ordinarily the United States does not enter into treaties . . . between any of its citizens and the Federal government."⁹¹

Another terminationist was Congressman E. Y. Berry of South Dakota who attended more hearings on Indian affairs than any other member. "Indians are just like white people," Berry told one person. "They do not advance unless they do the advancing themselves, and you do not advance unless you try, do you?"⁹²

Despite the termination movement and decentralization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the President's budget message for fiscal year

1954 to Congress on January 9, 1953, included increased expenditures for services to Indians. Essential improvements in hospitals, schools and employment services for 400,000 American Indians were noted. Funding included a program to provide Native Americans with training for employment in industry and agriculture, and appropriations were recommended to help Indians make adjustments after relocation.

In early January, 1954, congressmen submitted a number of bills which marked the climax of the termination years. On the 4th, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Lewis submitted to President Eisenhower a draft of a proposed termination bill for California Indians. The bill called for the issuance of fee patents for properties of the Indian tribes, bands and groups in California, and the termination of federal supervision over properties.

On the same day Lewis submitted a draft of a bill "to provide for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, Montana."

Of the 4,213 members of the reservation, only seven percent were full-blood Indians, and 64 percent were less than one-half Indian blood. Only one of every 13 tribesmen lived on or near the reservation. And nine-tenths of Flathead families were estimated fully self-supporting.

Also on January 4, 1954, Lewis sent Eisenhower a draft of a bill "to provide for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of the Seminole Tribe . . . in . . . Florida."

An estimated 90 percent of just over 870 Seminoles were full-bloods. The Mikasuki and Cow Creek Bands of 288 families were reported self-supporting, but many had standard living conditions. These impoverished Indians were to be terminated although they did not qualify as being economically self-sustaining. On

the same day a bill was submitted to terminate federal supervision over property of certain tribes and bands of Indians located in Western Oregon. The Indians were members of numerous small bands, tribes, and groups, and numbered about 2,100 individuals. The bill, H. R. 7489, was introduced⁹⁸ in the 83rd Congress.

Another bill proposed to terminate federal supervision over the property "of Sac and Fox of the Missouri Tribe of Indians located in the states of Kansas and Nebraska, the Iowa Tribe of Indians . . . in Kansas and Nebraska, and the Kickapoo Tribe in . . . Kansas and the Prairie Band of Potawatomie . . . in Kansas."⁹⁹ Out of a total membership of about 2,415 for the four tribes, only 600 lived on or near the reservations. Most worked in nearby towns and lived there, or farmed on a small scale, and were self-supporting.

The speaker also received a draft of a bill to terminate the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewas in North Dakota, South Dakota and Montana. Thus the Chippewas were threatened again with termination although they remained in the same impoverished condition. Their median¹⁰⁰ family income was \$750.

The 83rd Congress enacted several of a large number of proposed termination bills. Public Law 715 authorized the preparation of tribal rolls for certain tribes or bands in Oregon. The Indians would then receive per capita distribution of funds from claim settlements to make them economically self-sufficient. Thus members of the Molallala Tribe of Oregon and Confederated Bands of the Umpqua Tribe and Calappoias would no longer require federal funding. Members of the Tillamook, Coquille,¹⁰¹ Toootoney and Chetco Tribes of Oregon were included. Another

enactment, Senate Bill 2746, included "the termination of federal supervision over the property of certain tribes and bands of Indians located in western Oregon and the individual members thereof."¹⁰² In all, this act slated 60 Indian groups for termination.

Passage of Senate Bill 2745 terminated federal supervision over the property of the Klamath Tribe consisting of the Klamaths, Modocs, and the Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians.¹⁰³ Any real or personal property that belonged to the tribe was to be released from trust status. Interestingly much of the trust property was rich timberland and fishing grounds. In preparation of removal of trust restrictions the Klamath Tribe had a period of six months to compile a tribal roll of its members. Tribal property would be distributed to those enrolled.

The Indian Bureau soon realized that the Termination Program complicated Indian affairs. Attempting to resolve some of the complexity, Secretary McKay announced that a survey would study the organizations and operations of the B.I.A., and recommend necessary changes in compliance with withdrawal.¹⁰⁴ Members of the team included Chairman Walter Bimson, the Chairman of the Valley National Bank of Phoenix, Arizona; Robert D. Lutton of the Santa Fe Railroad of Chicago; and J. R. Johns of Sears, Roebuck, Co., of Dallas, Texas. George W. Abbot, counsel of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, was the outside member of the study team.

The team advised decentralization and consolidation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington through reduction in functions and personnel. Its power would be dispersed to area offices which would also be consolidated. Area offices in Window Rock and Albuquerque would become

one and consolidation of the two area offices in Oklahoma at Muskogee and Anadarko was recommended. Reduction of staff technicians at area
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offices was also recommended.

On January 26, 1954, the survey team submitted a report on the Indian Bureau to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. The report suggested a legislative definition of an Indian to limit services
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to only those who qualified for them. Legislation was suggested distinguishing that "competent" Indians should not be allowed to accept free government services that disadvantaged Indians needed. The intent of the study was to withdraw federal services to Native Americans and decentralize the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Beginning on February 1, 1954, the Association on American Indian Affairs expressed opposition to termination bills introduced in Congress. Dr. Alexander Lesser, Executive Director, wrote Dr. Philileo Nash that while some tribes such as the Menominee, Flathead, and Klamath were ready for termination, others were not. Certainly the Florida Seminoles, Turtle Mountain Chippewas, and various Indian groups in California were not ready for termination. "The bills, by abruptly ending trust protection, and revoking IRA constitutions and corporation charters, . . . are not genuinely directed toward the welfare and pro-
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gress of the groups being terminated."

Although the Association on American Indian Affairs generally spoke against termination, Oliver La Farge, the President of AAIA, clarified its position. "I do think it is important for us to be able to show that
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we do not automatically oppose any termination bill." Such opposition should be carefully initiated if it is to be valid La Farge noted. But

the AAIA explicitly protested termination of the Seminoles in Florida
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and the Turtle Mountain Chippewas.

Federal officials had a different view of the tribes, especially after Commissioner Emmons completed his tour of Indian country. Emmons and other officials learned that Indians had not progressed a great deal since Brophy's tour and the investigation by the Hoover Task Force. They assessed a need for prospective programs for ameliorating the economy of Indians. To aid Oklahoma Indians, the Secretary of the Interior collaborated with members of the 83rd Congress. The Area Office at Muskogee, Oklahoma, reported to Indian leaders on February 4, 1954, that House Resolution 1381 was introduced in Congress, "to promote the rehabilitation of the Five Civilized Tribes and other Indians of eastern Oklahoma."¹¹⁰ Similar reformation efforts were studied to assist Indians with federally funded programs in other regions.

Although the effort to assist Native Americans appeared sincere, some people questioned the true motive behind rehabilitative action. While Indians would benefit from federal aid, opposers to termination asserted that federal officials were assisting Indians now but would soon terminate the tribes anyway. Perhaps the federal government would not see the tribes entirely through rehabilitation but begin termination before the tribes were ready.

In mid-February 1954 John Collier, President of Ethnic Affairs, issued an appeal to Native Americans, friends of Indian rights, and citizens concerned with national honor on "Terminating the American Indian."¹¹¹ Collier warned that the 83rd Congress was entertaining 10 bills to liquidate tribes without their consent and this was a violation of Indian rights.

Shortly after Collier's statement, Homer B. Jenkins, Acting Director of the Division of Programs for the B.I.A., responded to the accusations that termination was damaging tribes.¹¹² In a conference before the National Congress of American Indians on February 25, 1954, Jenkins clarified the status of federal-Indian relations and termination procedures. He stated that President Eisenhower emphasized consultation with Native Americans as equals.

Termination procedures required tribes to prepare rolls of members. The Interior Secretary would then publish the tribal rolls without reviewing them for changes. Next, each enrolled member was entitled to personal property rights in the tribal assets and on a specified termination date, members possessing individually-owned property would receive full title rights. The Secretary of the Interior would protect the rights of any individuals who were unable to manage their own affairs.

In the disposition of tribal property, the tribe had two options: 1) organize into a corporation for continued management under a trustee of its choice, or 2) liquidation of all properties and assets. "If the tribe failed to exercise an option, the Secretary will transfer title to a trustee of his choice who will take title for liquidation purposes only." Finally the time period for completing terminal programs would be two to five years, depending upon complications involved.

An interesting case of termination included eight tribes in northeast Oklahoma who had no substantial lands.¹¹³ Members of the Eastern Shawnee, Miami, Modoc, Ottawa, Peoria, Quapaw, Seneca and Wyandot Tribes had few individual properties held in trust. Preparation of final

tribal rolls were necessary however for the distribution of personal assets including cash and tribal lands held in trust in other states. Interestingly these tribes, who were small in population and largely integrated in local communities, willingly prepared for termination. Members of the eight tribes presumably wanted termination because wardship status impeded their livelihoods. If the tribes had opposed termination, it was likely that they were not influential enough to offer effective resistance. Their lack of large populations, funds, legal expertise, and absence of support from powerful friends, especially in Congress, made these tribes prime candidates for termination.

The Quapaws objected mildly to termination in requesting an investigation of a proposed discontinuance of the Quapaw Field Office.¹¹⁴ Commissioner Emmons responded that there was no proposed legislation to discontinue the office. The Commissioner also said that terminal bills for the eight tribes were discussed with the affected Indian people and were modified according to their suggestions.

Part of the Quapaw opposition to termination was the final preparation of a tribal roll. About three years prior, the United States Court of Claims judged that the Quapaws were entitled to a per capita settlement. Quapaw Chief Victor Griffin asserted that no new members should be admitted to the tribe, enabling distribution of settlement money to only an estimated 757 members.¹¹⁵

In April, 1954 the Muskogee Area Office sent a memorandum to Indian leaders concerning a bill introduced in the U. S. Senate for further termination. Senate Bill 2515 proposed "to abolish the functions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs . . . the guardianship over Indians and

trusteeship over Indian lands," and to repeal the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.¹¹⁶ The Bureau of Indian Affairs was to be abrogated three years from the date of enactment of the bill into law. Approximately 73,400 Indians in 11 states were affected involving 2,938,000 acres of land.

Undoubtedly La Farge was one of the strongest objectors to termination. He brought to attention that the Pitt River Tribe opposed termination. He cited that mixed-bloods were ready for termination, but not full-blood members. He noted that Yuma Indians also opposed termination, stating they were not ready for removal of trust protective restrictions.¹¹⁷ Valuable timber property enticed terminationists according to La Farge. He noted that the Palm Spring Indians owned such land in California and were being set up for exploitation. La Farge asserted that removal of trust restrictions were legal avenues to exploit the Red Man just as he had been cheated in the Allotment Era of the late 1800s.

Termination was a controversial issue for all those involved in Indian affairs. "Should The American Indian Be Given Full Citizenship Responsibility" was the topic of a debate between Senator George Smathers of Florida and Senator Watkins in April, 1954, on Dumont Television Washington Station. Watkins, Chairman of the Indian Sub-committee of the Insular and Interior Affairs Committee of the Senate, supported termination. Senator Smathers was a member of the Insular Affairs Committee. Although Smathers was originally a supporter of House Concurrent Resolution 108, he later changed his view. "I was one of those who originally joined in the resolution which we sought to give full liberation to the Indians. That was before I knew too much about the problem."¹¹⁸

The debate climaxed when Senator Watkins critically stated, "May I point out also that what the Indian really wants, he wants representation without taxation. He can tax all the rest of us and vote for people who do tax us; but he doesn't want to pay taxes himself even though he is able to do so."

Smathers retorted, "Now I wouldn't go that far because every Indian that leaves the reservation and goes out and lives like the rest of us lives, he is paying his fair share of taxes; he's in the service; he's doing everything everyone else is doing." Senator Smathers expressed humanitarian concern for Native Americans who, he judged, lacked the capabilities to take advantage of the federal government, nor did Native Americans have yet the capabilities of successfully assimilating with other Americans.

In contrast Senator Watkins expressed the point of view of many who sincerely believed that termination meant the abrogation of legal discrimination against Native Americans. Indians needed to be freed of the government, as trust status disallowed them full citizenship rights.

Addressing the annual meeting of the Association on American Indian Affairs in New York City two weeks later on May 5, 1954, Commissioner Emmons reiterated Senator Watkins' view. "Our most important job in the Bureau is to help the Indian people in solving some of their more fundamental problems and . . . reaching the stage of economic and social development where they will be able to fend for themselves."¹¹⁹ In a more direct manner, Emmons expressed, "Now I am definitely not one of those who believes that Indians are 'naturally lazy' or that they lack

the inherent capacity of other Americans to make a decent living. The major cause for widespread Indian poverty, . . . lies not in the character of the Indian people but in the nature of their environment. It is to be found in the poor and inadequately developed lands which make up such a large part of the Indian resource base, in the rapidly increasing reservation populations and in the general economic climate of the perimeter areas where opportunities for Indian employment are now either sharply limited or totally lacking." In overcoming these obstacles Emmons asserted that the Bureau would work with Native Americans in the most humane way.

Collier voiced further opposition to the federal handling of Indian affairs in an article in The Christian Century. He cited the past wrongs of the federal government in dealing with Indians since the 1800s: federal violations of treaties with Native Americans, denial of Indian community rights, and forced allotment accumulated in a Century of Dishonor, the title of Helen Hunt Jackson's muckraking book on Indian affairs. Collier proclaimed that the 1950s was a return to that era. He insisted that Dillon S. Myer and his assistant, Rex Lee, indoctrinated congressional members to initiate termination bills. This resulted in ten termination bills being introduced in Congress, and enacted. Concluding his article, Collier pleaded for American citizens to act on the behalf of Native Americans and oppose termination of Indian tribes.

A week later on May 19, 1954, La Farge condemned termination in The Christian Century. He charged the United States with not acting in the best interests of Indians by breaking the trust relationship. In one instance, he cited that desire for oil and other minerals under Paiute land was the true motive for terminating the Paiutes. Economic motives

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were cited for termination of other tribes too. A memorandum to Oklahoma leaders from the Muskogee Area Office on May 24, 1954 supported La Farge's accusations. The Indian Agricultural Extension Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, that advised and loaned Indian farmers money, was transferred to the Department of Agriculture. 122 Although this seemed minor, it further decentralized the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This transfer reinforced La Farge's argument that the federal government was paying less attention to Indian affairs, thus, not providing adequate supervision.

In June, 1954, President Eisenhower signed a bill that began the first major controversy in termination of a tribe. James Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President, released a news statement announcing Eisenhower's approval of terminating the Menominees. "I have today signed House Resolution 2828 which provides for the method of terminating Federal supervision over the property and affairs of the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin on December 31, 1958." 123 The President continued. "I extend my warmest commendations to the members of the Tribe for the impressive progress they have achieved and for the cooperation they have given the Congress in the development of this legislation." President Eisenhower added that the Menominees had the assistance of the Department of the Interior and the state of Wisconsin in preparing for "full and final independence."

The Menominee opposed termination, but they could do very little. The year prior on June 19, 1953, Senator Watkins and his aides, John Jex and Robert G. Martoz, visited the Menominee Reservation. Rex Lee, Associate Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Donald Foster, Area Director, and Glen Wilkinson, Menominee attorney in Washington, accompanied Watkins

to the reservation in Wisconsin. Watkins tried to convince the Indians that termination was best, but they were only interested in receiving a \$1,500 per capita payment resulting from a settlement decision by the Indian Claims Commission. In failing to convince the Indians, Watkins provoked hostility among the Menominees. He then threatened that the tribe would receive the per capita payments only if the Menominees agreed to termination. A vote was taken to decide the Menominees' course of action. Some Menominees voted for receiving the per capita, unaware of what termination entailed. Some approved termination, believing that the federal government would stop other services to them.

La Farge stated that the tactic of withholding distribution of tribal money was also used against the Klamaths to get both tribes to accept termination.¹²⁵ In early August, 1954, Assistant Interior Secretary Lewis recommended termination of federal supervision over the Klamath Tribe in Oregon. "It is our belief that the Klamath Tribe and the individual members thereof have . . . attained sufficient skill and ability to manage their own affairs without special Federal assistance," stated Lewis.¹²⁶

On the same day, August 10, William Rogers, Deputy Attorney General, wrote Rowland Hughes, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, that Indians of 60 small bands, tribes and groups in addition to the Klamaths¹²⁷ were ready for termination. The Indians were economically self-sustaining with timber as the principle source of tribal incomes in Oregon. Predominately ponderosa and sugar pine yielded an annual gross income amounting to about \$2 million. Because of this income only 10 percent of Klamath families depended on welfare assistance. Two days later on August

12, Roger Jones, Assistant Director for Legislative Reference of the Budget Bureau wrote President Eisenhower that his office supported Senate Bills 2745 and 2746 to terminate the Klamaths and other Indians
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in Oregon. He reported that federally-funded services to these Indians were unnecessary.

During this period Indian affairs dominated considerable congressional action. In a memorandum on September 24, 1954, Commissioner Emmons reported to other Bureau officials and Tribal Councils on legislation involving Indians. In the 83rd Congress 288 public bills and resolutions were introduced affecting Native Americans, and 46 were being enacted into law. The Bureau of Indian Affairs also submitted 162 reports on Indian
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affairs to committees in Congress. In the history of federal-Indian relations, the 83rd Congress entertained more legislation on Indian affairs than any other congress.

Federal officials deemed they had the Indians' best interests in mind as they tried to make Native Americans more independent and federal-Indian relations appeared to improve in the view of many newspapers. Emmons was credited with assisting Amerindians and was popular among them. In an article describing the harmonious rapport with Native Americans, the editor of the Turtle Mountain Star lauded the Indian Commissioner. "We indeed wonder if any commissioner has been more loved and respected by the
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Indians themselves." The editor noted that federal paternalism was a thing of the past, and that Commissioner Emmons and Native Americans looked forward to the day when Indians would be more in control of their lives.

Certainly the eight tribes of the Quapaw Sub-agency in Oklahoma were among those Indians who desired control of their destiny. A field

trip report, dated September 30, 1954, recorded that a total of about 4,700 members, involving an estimated 33,000 acres of restricted lands, from eight tribes were ready for termination. ¹³¹ Furthermore, a filed report regarding consultations with the tribes on legislation to readjust trust relationships indicated tribal approval. A total of 325 Indians attending 33 meetings consented to termination legislation. ¹³²

In early October, 1954, Collier spoke out in his sharpest criticism of federal handling of Indian affairs. In an article in The Nation, Collier condemned Myer for starting the destruction of Indian life. "Beginning with Dillon S. Myer as Indian Commissioner in 1950, the ruling purpose, harshly intensified by the present administration, has been to atomize and suffocate the group life of the tribes--that group life which is their vitality, motivism, and hope." ¹³³ Ignoring trusteeship obligations, Collier charged Congress and the Indian Bureau of indirectly turning over Indian properties to white Americans. Collier stated the true motivation of termination legislation was greed. Presenting one case as evidence, Collier pointed out that a law affecting 177 full-blood Paiutes, who possessed 45,000 acres of poor land in Utah, would lose land because subsurface oil and other rich minerals were believed to be below ground. ¹³⁴

Forest conservationists argued that termination would result in the transfer of Indian property to white American capitalists. Their main concern was that timberland of the Menominees, as well as Klamaths, and other Oregon tribes would be exploited. More than 800,000 acres of healthy ponderosa pine trees alone on Klamath land would be severely diminished beyond recovery. ¹³⁵ Sound forest management was recommended for Indians as a part of preparation procedure for termination. According to conser-

vationists the survival of forests should be taken into consideration by the federal government in dealing with Indian affairs.

A letter on November 1, 1954, to N. B. Johnson, President of the Inter-Tribal Council of Oklahoma's Five Civilized Tribes, from Sherman Adams, Assistant to President Eisenhower, explained the true motive behind HCR 108 and federal supervision of Indian affairs. ¹³⁶ Adams wrote that consultation with Indians was the policy of the President in the withdrawal of federal responsibilities. As an example of Eisenhower's genuine concern for Native Americans, Adams asserted that Indians would receive better health care from the Public Health Service. In addition, "Appropriations have been provided for a specific program of Indian vocational training and relocation in areas of greater employment opportunities." The whole idea was that states could provide better services to Native Americans.

Federal officials also consulted tribal leaders of six other Indian groups on HCR 108 and termination. Representing the Menominees of Wisconsin, Klamath and certain Indian groups of Oregon, Coushattas of Texas, Utes and Paiutes of Utah, Indian leaders discussed provisions of termination bills. Although the tribes were consulted after the bills were passed into law, federal officials promised to provide assistance in preparing the Indians for termination.

The "model tribe" for termination, the Menominee, experienced several setbacks in preparing for independence. The Menominees received poor advice from federal officials. In one instance H. P. Davis, law enforcement officer of the Bureau, recommended that Keshena and Neopit on the reservation become tax-supported villages. ¹³⁷ Davis was not aware

that the Menominees paid no taxes which made his advice unpractical. The Menominees were thus forced to turn to Wisconsin state officials for assistance.

In the Pacific Northwest pre-termination conditions for the Klamath and other certain Indian groups in Oregon were less troublesome. The monthly report for October, 1954 from the Portland Area Office reported that Oregon state officials and Indians were cooperating with federal officials on termination procedures. Tribes were in the final stages of completing tribal rolls for trusteeship removal. ¹³⁸ In contrast to the Menominees, the Oregon Indians had fewer problems in preparing for termination because they wanted removal of trust status more than the Menominees.

Other tribes desired termination. On December 9, 1954, Homer Jenkins notified Congressman Ed Edmondson of Oklahoma that the Quapaws desired termination. "It was their opinion," stated Jenkins, "that their people were ready for a termination of trust relationship." ¹³⁹ In January, 1955, leaders of the Quapaw Tribe requested a meeting with Bureau officials from the Muskogee Area Office to discuss and obtain a better understanding of termination. Approximately 200 Indians including some from other tribes met to discuss provisions of the bill to readjust the trust relationship with the federal government. Walter King, Jr., Tribal Chairman, said that if necessary the terminal bill would be redrafted and new criteria set for determining those tribal members qualified for full trust status removal. ¹⁴⁰

To assist Indians even more, in January, 1955 Congressman Edmondson introduced House Resolution 1563 in the first session of the

84th Congress. Edmondson's bill proposed "to extend the time within¹⁴¹ which claims may be presented to the Indian Claims Commission." This legislation attempted to provide tribes with more opportunities to prepare claims against the United States. The bill would provide time for the federal government to finalize its compensatory treaty obligations regarding Indian lands.

Motives of government officials as to termination were questioned. One citizen wrote President Eisenhower that the federal government was not doing enough to help Native Americans and they were being ignored. Press Secretary Hagerty answered that the President was well aware of the suffering plight of most Native Americans. "You may be sure that the President, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, will do all that it is possible to do to improve the status of the American Indian."¹⁴²

Commissioner Emmons maintained that the three cardinal points in his administration of federal responsibility to Indians were improvements in health, education, and economic conditions.¹⁴³ He promised to base his administration upon President Eisenhower's principle of "full consultation with Indians." Emmons also iterated that rights resulting from treaties such as hunting and fishing rights would be honored and that there was no intention to abrogate Indian treaty rights under P. L. 280 or other "withdrawal" legislation.

Health was an area of concern that needed reform. House Resolution 303 passed during the 83rd Congress authorized transfer of Indian health facilities and services to the Public Health Service. Commissioner Emmons and other federal officials like Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota were convinced that Native Americans would receive better

health care from this transfer. ¹⁴⁴ They were in error however because data on Indian health during the next 10 years showed high disease and fatality rates among Native Americans. Hepatitis was eight times greater among Indians than any other American population group. Indians were three times as likely to die of pneumonia and influenza as non-Indians and Indian infant mortality, tuberculosis, and alcoholism rates were the highest in the nation. Overall, Native Americans had a life expectancy of 44 years compared with 70 years for white Americans.

As health services and other benefits were made available to Native Americans, the most startling question raised in administering federal services was, "who is an Indian?" In one instance Congress passed Public Law 587 to apply to Klamath Indians of southern Oregon-- but who was a Klamath? During all of their administration of Indian affairs, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Congress had never defined who is an Indian. Was an Indian of one-fourth Indian blood? One-eighth? One-sixteenth? Or was anyone who claimed that their great grandmother was a Cherokee Princess an Indian?

For the Klamath the tribal roll was opened and closed several times while preparing for termination. People came long distances to plead their cases for being an Indian. The tribal roll was finally closed with 2,070 names, after about 80 names had been stricken from it. The total estimated tribal assets were \$60 million to \$100 million, of which each enlisted Klamath would receive \$25,000 to \$45,000 each. ¹⁴⁵

On May 20, 1955, Commissioner Emmons submitted a report describing the accomplishments and major constructive programs of his administration to the Secretary of the Interior. ¹⁴⁶ Emmons named improved school

facilities, preventive medicine programs on reservations, and broadened economic opportunities for Indians as accomplishments. At least 7,000 additional Navajo children began attending schools and older children were educated in border town public schools or in "trailer" schools. To improve health among Indians, young Indian men were trained in sanitation activities and sent to work with their people. An ambitious program of health education was also started, and on July 1, 1955, the Indian Health Program was to be transferred to the Public Health Service.

Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of the Interior were helping Native Americans, the government was criticized for not doing enough. An editorial in the Christian Century dated June 1, 1955, reported that Indian living conditions were little better than those of former refugees in Korea and that only the President's personal attention would alleviate the miseries of Native Americans. The federal government, because of its large bureaucracy, however, could not act quickly to provide simple justice to one of its minorities. The editorial charged that the United States government "is either badly organized or badly served on its lower administrative levels."¹⁴⁷

An article in the Catholic World for July, 1955 charged that the Indian Bureau's laxity was the cause of the Indians' condition. Indians were at a disadvantage because of the Bureau's emphasis on "wardship" rather than "trusteeship."¹⁴⁸ The difference was that as wards, Indians were taken care of, but as trustees they could run their affairs with government approval. An unhealthy spirit of paternalism resulted, disallowing Native Americans to develop financial independence and self-reliance. This paternalism had caused the impoverished plight of Indians.

To dispel paternalism, sudden termination was enacted in the 1950s which subjected Native Americans to more harm. Among the Menominees in Wisconsin, the situation was described as confusing and uncertain.

Prior to the final termination date, the outward appearance of Menominee homes and buildings were still unclean and dilapidated. Enactment of Public Law 280, placing the Menominees under state jurisdiction limited the Bureau of Indian Affairs in assisting the Indians. While the Bureau refused to extend extra credit to Menominees, it did set up a small agency staff to supervise an efficient independent tribal organization. ¹⁴⁹

In another attempt to make tribes more independent and reliant upon their immediate resources, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming sponsored House Resolution 5566 "to terminate the existence of the Indian Claims Commission." ¹⁵⁰ This bill proposed to end the Commission five years after April 10, 1957, or sooner if the Commission submitted its final report on claims sooner. But speculation for the motive behind the O'Mahoney bill suggested that the Republican Congress wanted to avoid expenditures on Indian matters.

Termination, no doubt, was the basis for federal Indian policy during the 1950s. On August 2, 1955, President Eisenhower signed a bill for the termination of federal supervision over the property of the Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma. ¹⁵¹ Public Law 921 stated that the Peorias had six months to prepare a roll of members of its tribe. The Peorias were one of the small tribes of the Quapaw Sub-Agency who requested termination.

Although the Peorias desired termination, federal officials were often charged with cajoling tribal leaders into accepting termination

legislation. As indicated, the federal government was severely criticized in the mid-1950s for its Indian policy. In one instance, Commissioner Glenn Emmons was proclaimed as a tool of big business who would destroy the Indian and his resources. Government colleagues of Emmons disagreed. Congressman Jack Westland of Washington wrote President Eisenhower of his opinion of the Commissioner. "Mr. President, I have come in contact frequently with Mr. Emmons in the course of trying to solve the many perplexing problems which confront our Indian population. I don't believe any man could be more sincere in his desires and efforts to rehabilitate and assist in practical ways our Indian people."¹⁵²

In early November, 1955, one citizen, who was a member of a local Eisenhower Club, wrote Interior Secretary McKay to state his admiration of the administration. But the citizen was disturbed about the Republican policy in handling Indian affairs, meaning termination. "What we do to the Indian will be known throughout the world. We must keep our word or be forever shamed. . . . They are not yet ready to join a white community. They need more education, more help."¹⁵³

In an effort to clarify federal supervision of Indian affairs and answer outspoken critics, McKay addressed a letter to La Farge. In early December, 1955, a part of the text of the letter was released to the public. "The aim of the present administration in the field of Indian affairs is not to 'detrribalize' the Indian or deprive him of his identity but to give him a wider range of choice and a greater opportunity for fulfilling his own potentialities than he has previously enjoyed."¹⁵⁴

Undoubtedly the Secretary of the Interior was sincere, but he lacked the experience that Indians expected and their problems required.

Amerindians certainly lost part of their native identity as they strove to fulfill their potentialities as American citizens in the mainstream. Secretary McKay did not have the insight, much like other government officials who were not of Indian blood, to realize the psychological and sociological traumas that Native Americans endured in the socialization process which accounted for the outward appearance of failures according to white American standards. As Indians were terminated, they were de-Indianized and forced to act as Anglo-Americans in a foreign environment for which many lacked the abilities to adapt.

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²⁵U. S., House, Congressman Delaney speaking on Investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1 July 1952, Congressional Record 98: 8788-90.

²⁶Meeting of Dillon S. Myer, Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Red Lake Tribal Business Association, Red Lake Reservation, Minnesota, July 8, 1952, Box 566814, Acc. No. 67-A-814, Red Lake Area Office Files, FRC, Kansas City, Missouri.

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<u>Bill</u>	<u>Tribe</u>
S. 2670, H.R. 7390	The Indians of Utah (Paiute and Shoshone)
S. 2744, H.R. 6382, H.R. 6547	The Indians of Texas
S. 2746, H.R. 7317	The Indians of Western Oregon
S. 2743, H.R. 7318	The Sac Fox and Iowa of Kansas and Nebraska, and the Kickapoo and Potawatomi of Kansas
S. 2745, H.R. 7320	The Klamath Indians of Oregon
S. 2750, H.R. 7319	The Flathead Indians of Montana
S. 2747, H.R. 7321	The Seminoles of Florida
S. 2748, H.R. 7316	The Turtle Mountain Indians of North Dakota
S. 2749, H.R. 7322	The Indians of California
S. 2813, H.R. 7135	The Menominee Indians of Wisconsin

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⁹⁶Orme Lewis to Richard Nixon, January 4, 1954, Ibid.

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CHAPTER IV

THE EISENHOWER PROMISE TO THE RED MAN, 1956-1959

On January 6, 1955, Commissioner Emmons addressed the Muskogee Chamber of Commerce on a day designated, "Appreciation Day for the Bureau of Indian Affairs." He outlined the general scope of operations in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and named two broad categories of federal services to Indian people. "Community services" consisted of health, education, welfare, law enforcement and relocation for Native Americans. "Indian resources" included the development of natural resources on Indian lands, including oil, coal, farm and ranch land, irrigation water, timber, and fishing. Emmons asserted that federal paternalism was still necessary until tribesmen gained confidence in directing their own affairs.

Emmons felt that Indian participation in Native American affairs was equally important. Rather than telling tribes what to do, Emmons and other officials hoped that Amerindians could begin supervising their own affairs. Still, collaboration of Indians with federal officials was questionable. "Consultation" with Indian leaders had not yet progressed sufficiently in federal-Indian relations; "consultation" and "consent" were controversial issues.

Oliver La Farge contended that procedures for consulting with tribal leaders regarding termination were inadequate; Indian consent

pertaining to Public Law 280 was ignored. Respectively, Public Law 280 placed Indians under civil and criminal jurisdiction in certain states.² La Farge charged that Native Americans were forced to consent to this. The objective of Public Law 280 was to require Indians to apply for state services.

Secretary of the Interior McKay disallowed special treatment of Indians, claiming that they were no different than other American citizens. He admitted, however, that treaty obligations necessitated that the United States honor designated responsibilities. These dealt primarily with land tenure; land remained a key element in Indian affairs.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs' audit report on the administration of Indian lands for 1955 indicated the problem of heirship lands. Allotted Indian land whose original owners had died devolved to surviving family members. In numerous cases, several heirs to one allotment resulted in chaotic situations as they tried to determine whether to sell, lease, or develop the inherited land. To solve one multiple heirship problem, Department of the Interior officials established several regulations: "a petition to sell inherited Indian lands shall be signed by all adult heirs on their behalf, by the guardian of a minor heir who has such guardian, and by the superintendent or other officer in charge of the agency or school on behalf of any orphan heir."³

The audit report recommended "that Congress consider legislation authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell or partition inherited lands held under trust patent, without requiring the consent of all competent owners."⁴ Recommendation was also made for issuance of fee patents, producing termination of trust lands. The report noted, however, that competent Indians were reluctant to terminate the trust status of their lands.

Alcoholism continued as a leading social problem among Native Americans. On February 2, 1956, Commissioner Emmons announced the appointment of a special three-man commission to begin a three-month study of alcoholism on the Navajo Reservation and other reservations in New Mexico and Colorado. Former Congressman O. K. Armstrong of Missouri, Earnest A. Shepherd of the Florida State Alcoholic Rehabilitation Program, and Reverend David A. Works of New Hampshire were appointed to the commission. Miss Selene Gifford, Assistant Commissioner of Community Services in the Indian Bureau, was added as an ex-officio member. ⁵ Emmons noted that most Indian reservations did not have facilities that many other communities had for dealing with alcoholism. The purpose of the commission's study was to assess and evaluate the problem of alcoholism on reservations.

Adapting to the dominant society was another pressing problem. Federal officials were aware of this. "Tribes are diverse in backgrounds and vary exceedingly in their readiness to readjust relationship to the Federal Government," reported a "Statement on Current Issues in Indian Affairs." It continued, "termination of this special relationship is a selective one. It is based on a meticulous evaluation of each tribe's situation, paying particular attention to the tribe's human and natural resources, its limitations, its preparedness and its ability to assume ⁶ full responsibility for managing its own affairs."

The statement also disclosed that the Bureau of Indian Affairs was strongly opposed to wholesale termination of federal responsibility to Indians. Illustrative of the B.I.A.'s position was its opposition to Senate Bill 401 to dispose all tribal land and repeal the Indian Reorganization Act. Commissioner Emmons stated, "I firmly believe that its enact-

ment would be not only a tragic error but a flat repudiation of our basic principles of fair and honorable dealings. I am opposed to it completely and utterly."⁷

The complexity of terminating tribes increased; while some tribes were ready for termination, others were not. Some members of tribes were ready and others were not. In one instance, some tribal members of the Peorias of Oklahoma requested separate legislative bills be introduced in Congress.⁸

The Modocs of Oklahoma met on March 12, 1956, to request termination of land in Oklahoma that involved a cemetery.⁹ Government officials thought the property in question might already be covered under Public Law 587 which terminated properties of the Klamaths and Modocs of Oregon. Oklahoma Modocs claimed that they were a separate group and their business should be handled separately.

In a memorandum for April 12, 1956, Commissioner Emmons informed area directors and superintendents of a program for Indian social and economic improvement. "I desire to impress upon Agency and Area personnel," said Emmons, "the need to come to grips with the basic long-range problems in each tribal situation." The Commissioner emphasized cooperation with Native Americans, yet he encouraged more federal assistance. "It is not enough for us to go on from day to day just providing certain services and carrying out our trust responsibilities."¹⁰ The degree of Emmons' paternalism was questionable, but his actions sincerely attempted to reform and outline a program for improvement in preparing Indians for termination.

The lack of a definite termination program caused discrepancies. A memorandum from the Area Director at Minneapolis to Commissioner Emmons

and his five Assistant Commissioners on May 3, 1956, revealed disagreement¹¹ on the Menominee termination. The Area Director reported that the tribe adopted amendments to its termination legislation, Public Law 399. Other tribes were not as reluctant as the Menominees in accepting termination. At the request of pro-termination Indians, Senator O'Mahoney introduced three bills for termination in Congress. Senate Bill 3968 provided for termination of federal supervision over the property of the Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma. Senate Bill 3969 provided for termination of federal supervision over the property of the Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma. Senate Bill 3970 proposed termination of federal supervision over the property of the¹² Wyandots of Oklahoma. All three Indian groups were small tribes under the Quapaw Sub-agency jurisdiction whose members were already assimilated within local communities.

Indian affairs in early 1956 involved mainly those tribes who were ready for trust status removal. Members of the tribes were usually mixed-bloods who were living and working in communities among Anglo-Americans. Their tribal populations were small and the people more readily blended in with non-Indians. Their tribes lacked large land areas to support them so they were somewhat forced to desegregate.

Economically the integrated mixed-bloods seemed contented with a new lifestyle. They enjoyed living in three-bedroom homes, owning a car and working for wages at jobs like white Americans. Many were veterans who were loyal to Eisenhower as a World War II leader and helped to vote him into the Presidency. With utmost respect for the President,¹³ the Pawnees called him, "Nasharo-Te-Hiresa," "Chief Lead-the-way." Eisenhower showed interest in domestic affairs but largely left Indian

matters to Commissioner Emmons. Part 130 of the Department Manual of the Interior Department stated the intentions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its functions. "The main objectives of the Bureau are: the creation of conditions under which the Indians will advance their social, economic, and political adjustment in the complex world in which they find themselves; and the encouragement of Indians and Indian tribes to assume an increasing measure of self-sufficiency; and the termination, at appropriate times, of Federal supervision and services special to Indians."¹⁴

Major functions of the B.I.A. in handling Indian affairs entailed acting as trustee for Indian lands and monies, providing public services such as education, and furnishing guidance and assistance to those Indians wishing to leave the reservations. Collaboration with Indian people in developing programs to lead Indians toward accepting full responsibility for the management of their affairs was also listed.

On July 20, 1956, Commissioner Emmons met with the Winnebagoes at Omaha, Nebraska. Chairman Frank Beaver asked Commissioner Emmons if the Bureau could start a program to lend money to Winnebagoes to buy out the interests of other owners of allotments. Beaver iterated that this would solve the heirship problem among his people and enable those who desired to do so to farm. Most Winnebago land was still leased to non-Indians. "At the present time both sides of the (Missouri) river are leased by whites," Beaver stated, "but I am sure the Indians would like to get back there because there are a lot of boys who would like to farm and they have no land."¹⁵ The Commissioner agreed with the suggestion and added that the Winnebagoes needed broader economic opportunities; other occupations as well as professional education in law, medicine, and industry were available.

On the same day Emmons also met with a Standing Rock Sioux delegation. The Commissioner talked about the future of Indian affairs and warned the Indians of termination. "We have to face the day when the Government is going to get out of the Indian business," said Emmons. "If the Indians are worse off than they were 10 years before, I am afraid that Congress is going to say the Indians couldn't be any worse off." The Commissioner continued, "I think we have a solemn obligation to raise the standards of the Indian people so that when that time does come they will have such a level of income that they can afford to be relieved of the Government restrictions, but darn it I will fight to the last ditch to see that that doesn't come overnight, of course."¹⁶ Undoubtedly Emmons was concerned with helping Native Americans and like many other government officials he hoped for Indian independence, but not at the destruction of Indian people.

On July 23, 1956, Administrative Assistant Marie L. Hayes sent a memorandum to Paul L. Fickinger, Area Director at Muskogee, and C. C. Marrs, Assistant Area Director, regarding congressional approval for terminating the Ottawas, Peorias, and Wyandots.¹⁷ The memo included notice of withdrawal of federal supervision and consent from the Eastern Shawnee, Seneca-Cayugas, Miamis, Quapaws, and Modocs. These tribes considered termination and agreed to limited withdrawal of trust status, but federal officials wanted total termination.

For larger tribes with many full-bloods, such as the Klamaths of Oregon, termination caused internal strife and confusion. A Stanford Research Institute report substantiated that Klamath Indians were misinformed about their final termination set for 1958. Only 14 out of 100

Klamaths interviewed believed that the tribe had requested termination.

Only six believed that they were more advanced than other tribes selected

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for termination. Findings of the report revealed misconceptions in the Klamath Termination Act. Two management specialists, T. B. Watters and E. G. Favell, went to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, pleading protective amendments to the act. Besides potential for economic harm, termination also caused dissension among tribal members. Younger Klamaths generally favored termination because of the freedom and financial benefits offered. Older Klamaths rejected termination, believing that they were not ready for it, and said the government was exploiting them. They wanted protection and federal services, yet they were hostile and resentful toward federal officials.

Termination legislation involved more than termination of federal recognition of tribes. A letter dated August 1, 1954, from the new Secretary of the Interior, Fred A. Seaton, to Walter Christenson, Editor of the Omaha World-Herald provided information on the wide-reaching goals of termination legislation. Seaton wrote he supported termination legislation in 1954 withdrawing trust status of six tribes, Menominees, Klamaths, Paiutes, Utes, Alabama-Coushattas and Western Oregon Indian groups. Also significant was the transfer of the Indian Health Program to Public Health Service on July 1, 1955, via P. L. 568 (August 5, 1954), and transfer of the Agricultural Extension Program to states. According to federal officials the latter two moves would provide better services to Amerindians.

Perhaps the most significant action of all toward "getting the Government out of the Indian Business," Seaton claimed, "is the emphasis

. . . on improving the economic position of the Indian people." He stressed this had been done the past three years. "This is being accomplished through . . . development of mineral resources such as oil and gas, through increased timber sales . . . attraction of industry to the vicinity of reservations. All of these actions are helping gradually but significantly," Seaton said, "to overcome the underlying problem of Indian poverty and economic insecurity." Evidence of the move towards termination was made more apparent when the Secretary reported a reduction of Bureau employees from 13,000 to 10,000, making a ratio of one official to every 43 Indians including natives of Alaska. "Still too
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damn many bureaucrats!" exclaimed Seaton.

To speed up termination, Area Director Fickinger wrote E. E. Lamb, Field Representative at the Quapaw Area Office in Oklahoma on August 9, 1956. Fickinger stated that since legislation had been enacted for the Ottawas, Peorias and Wyandots, "we must pursue the matter of terminal legislation with the Eastern Shawnees, Seneca-Cayugas, Miamis, Quapaws and the Modocs."
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He emphasized to Lamb that termination of the proposed tribes was set for the next January.

In September, 1956, Commissioner Emmons visited with the Pacific Northwest tribes to hear their opinions on Indian affairs and the termination policy. In a conference with Oregon and Washington tribes, one Klamath criticized the education program for his people. "Here is what the educational program is running into. The average Klamath is not interested. He is not interested in learning," the tribal member testified. "Many of them maintain the bill will never be carried through--the termination will not be done--the bill will be repealed or amended. With all that confusion, they are at a standstill."
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Listening to one Native American during a conference with Idaho and Eastern Washington tribes, Emmons heard a similar comment. There was also confusion about termination as Barney Rickard stated the situation among his people. "There is one faction who wants immediate liquidation and there is one faction, and I believe they are in the majority, who don't even want termination."²² Some Indians were tired of trust status, believing they could live without government intervention while others felt insecure without federal protection and supervision.

A letter from Senator James E. Murray of Montana, Chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to Senator Eugene D. Millikin of Colorado on October 2, 1956, updated officials on the Klamath situation. "There is widespread concern in Oregon about the Klamath Indian termination procedure," wrote Murray. "It has become obvious that the Termination Act (P. L. 587 - 83rd Congress), if carried out in its present form, will be detrimental to the Indians and the economy of the Klamath Basin."²³ Previously the ramifications of Klamath termination had not been studied for its affect on the local community. Removal of trust status on rich Klamath timberland would flood the market in southwest Oregon. Undoubtedly exploitation of Klamaths was a grave possibility.

Some opponents of termination charged that congressmen in introducing termination proposals were exploiting tribes, especially because 1956 was an election year. Even in Congress members charged that by introducing termination legislation their colleagues were exploiting the problems of Indians for political gain of constituents.²⁴ In several western states, permitting terminated Indians to sell their land to non-Indians would certainly gain political support.

However, sincere concern for assisting and protecting Indians appeared genuine at the higher echelon of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. By the end of October, 1954, Commissioner Emmons had completed his second extensive tour of the Indian tribes. His consultations with Indian leaders differed from those of previous commissioners. "Contrary to past policies," stated a B.I.A. report, "Mr. Emmons consults with the various tribes, individually and in their own locality, not in Washington."²⁵ This established rapport with most tribal leaders. An agreement with the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma, the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Choctaw and Chickasaw, resulted in extended trust restrictions over property as a protective measure for tribal elders.

"I want to see that every Indian is given an opportunity to select the things in which he feels he will make good," said Emmons at a conference with Cherokee delegates in December, 1956. He continued, "because the end of Federal trusteeship is going to come someday as certain²⁶ as we are sitting here" in Dallas, Texas. The Commissioner insisted the responsibility of the federal government was "to build people up and prepare them against that day when they will be out on their own without any assistance or supervision from the Federal Government."

In December, 1956, the Indian Education and Training Program released a report on "Termination of Federal Supervision over the Klamath Indian Reservation." The Klamath were described as making excellent progress. "The material culture of the Klamath Indians is little different from their non-Indian neighbors. They drive the same type cars, live in similar houses, dress and speak the same."²⁷ These tribesmen had problems, too. Younger Klamaths especially showed an alarming juvenile delinquency

rate on the reservation. "Idleness and easy money under the parentalism of Uncle Sam" were contributing factors. The Tribal Management Plan aimed at urbanizing younger Klamaths from about 18 to 30 years old was implemented to alleviate this problem and to assist the Klamaths to adjust to white community life.

During 1956 numerous bills were introduced in the second-session of the 84th Congress. The termination laws for the Wyandot, Peoria, and Ottawa Tribes of Oklahoma were very significant. Another enactment, Public Law 772, restored 818,000 acres of undisposed land on the Colville Reservation in Washington to tribal ownership. The law stated the Tribal Business Council would submit proposed legislation terminating federal supervision over its property. Public Law 450, another enactment, made it easier for Indian land owners to obtain loans from commercial sources. With approval from the Secretary of the Interior, Indians could execute mortgages or deeds of trust to allotted lands in trust.

In January, 1957, the Area Director at Minneapolis sent a memorandum to Commissioner Emmons and his five Assistant Commissioners. While reporting on Indian matters in his locale, the Director stated the reaction of Indians to the termination policy. "Indian attitudes toward possible termination of Federal supervision are mixed. There are definite strong desires favoring, but most of the groups are reluctant to take official tribal action endorsing it." ²⁸ Throughout the termination years of the 1950s, Indians were confused when confronted with termination. Some Indians even feared the word "termination," thinking that their tribes might be next to be liquidated. Federal officials therefore utilized euphemisms like withdrawal, readjusting, assimilating, liberating, integrating, and desegregating in speaking with Native Americans.

To persuade tribes to accept termination, various programs were started to reform the welfare of Indian groups and individuals. On February 21, 1957, the Department of the Interior announced new loan regulations to aid tribes in attracting industry to their reservations. In one instance the Navajo Tribe was appropriated \$300,000 from its trust account to encourage industry to develop nearby.²⁹ Hopefully tribal members would gain jobs and learn skills from working in factories. Lear, Inc. of Santa Monica, California, producing electronic equipment, and Navajo Furniture, an infant furniture company of Los Angeles, were two industries that responded.

In March, 1957, Emmons met with the Menominee Indian Study Council to discuss post-termination matters. Committee member Professor Ray A. Brown said, "this termination seems to be the beginning of the end--the beginning of a new era for the Indian people."³⁰ The Menominee sawmill earned an estimated annual profit of half a million dollars and the Indians had a vast supply of timber forest. Taxation of the Menominee Reservation after termination concerned the Study Council. State taxes on the reservation would amount to about one-quarter of a million dollars annually. For these reasons planning for final termination seriously concerned the Study Committee and the Menominee Tribal Council.

In addition to study committees working with tribes the federal government continued its credit extension program to assist tribes. Loans were made to tribal groups who then loaned to tribal members and tribal enterprises. In one case the Seneca-Cayugas of Oklahoma made 76 loans to members over a 20-year period totaling \$47,466.19.³¹ As of April, 1957, only six outstanding loans with a balance of approximately

\$3,000 was owed to the tribe. Acting as a business consultant to the tribes, the Bureau of Indian Affairs taught tribal officers to handle large sums of money while tribal members benefited from the loans.

Emmons' work with tribes improved the reputation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Washington Post and Times-Herald reported the Commissioner as one of 45 persons of the Interior Department to be commended "For outstanding achievement in materially improving the health protection, the educational facilities, and the economic prospects for Indian people."³² Emmons earned the Distinguished Service Award, the highest medal of the Department of the Interior. He was especially noted for reforming social conditions among the Navajos since 1953.³³ While federal policy stopped regarding Indians as "museum pieces" and instituted termination, Emmons deemed it his duty to prepare Native Americans for removal of government trust restraints.

Many citizens were pleased with Emmons' work and expressed gratitude for his concern and success with helping Indians. Friends of the Commissioner like Cale W. Carson, President of the First National Bank in Albuquerque, New Mexico, wrote Emmons congratulating him.³⁴ The Indian Commissioner was popular both among Native Americans and non-Indians.

Fruits from Emmons' administration of Indian affairs spontaneously occurred with coordination from Congress and the tribes. On May 20, 1957, the Muskogee Times-Democrat reported the Peorias were the first tribe to be terminated in northeastern Oklahoma. After preparing a tribal roll the Muskogee Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs announced that Peoria members would share in dividing tribal money and property.

Afterwards the tribe would officially be terminated from federal
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supervision.

In addition to working with tribes in accordance with the termination policy, the Bureau of Indian Affairs assisted in developing minerals on Indian lands. In the Southwest, the Papagoes had a promising situation. The Department of the Interior predicted on May 24, 1957, that Papago income from minerals other than oil and gas would reach a record high total prior to the fiscal year ending on June 30. Three tracts of land on the Papago Reservation in Arizona were contracted to the American Smelting and Refining Company of New York, and other companies were interested in bidding on leases for other tracts. Leasing
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income alone was expected to bring the Papagoes \$1,066,007.

The focus of federal administration of Indian affairs was largely on the economy of tribes. An article in The Christian Century magazine for May, 1957, encouraged support of the economy of Indians but advocated additional legislation to protect Native American rights after termination.
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Many Indian advocates believed that House Concurrent Resolution 108 was not adequate in assuring the progress of self-determination and local self-government which termination was to produce. Two bills pending in Congress which would aid in this progress, Senate Concurrent Resolution 3 and House Concurrent Resolution 155, needed the support of Indians and their friends. Furthermore, Representative George McGovern of South Dakota had introduced House Concurrent Resolution 160 to repeal HCR 108.

Interestingly, the 84th Congress seemed committed to protection of Indian rights while the 83rd Congress had stressed termination. The

shortsightedness of members of the 83rd Congress on Indian affairs had become evident. House Concurrent Resolution 108 had been pushed to approval without sufficient discussion nor consideration of its negative effects. Congressional attention focused on foreign policy in Indochina, McCarthyism, and the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Issues such as federal aid for highway construction, the Upper Colorado River Project, and increasing foreign aid overshadowed legislation pertaining to Indians.

Unexpectedly the after effects of termination resulted in further government intervention. Usually the larger terminated tribes had the most difficulties. On May 27, Secretary of the Interior Seaton wrote Presidential Assistant Adams of his concern that the Klamath forest might be destroyed. If the Klamaths were paid a lump sum, Seaton questioned the ability of the Indians to manage it. If the Klamaths requested immediate cash, the forest and adjoining marshland would have to be sold quickly. "This may well result in the destruction of one of the country's most valuable ponderosa pine forests," warned Seaton. "And the Klamath marsh, with injury to water conservation and wildlife values and the economy of the Klamath Basin" would be disturbed severely. The problem was how to acquire a fair price for the Klamaths and prevent destruction of the timber and marsh lands.

Two days later Adams wrote Governor Elmo Smith of Oregon regarding the Klamaths and the possible consequences of termination. Adams briefed him on amending termination legislation affecting the Klamaths. Members of the House of Representatives were considering protection of Klamath minors and others who might need assistance to manage assets. Both Congress and the Department of the Interior cooperated in extending the time for final termination to protect the exploitable land areas.

In June, 1957, a special report titled "Basic Needs of Indian People" was released. Bureau school administrators who prepared the report stressed education as a vital need for Native Americans. Equal opportunity was projected to come about with qualified and trained Amerindians. Vocational and college education were deemed essential to enable Indians to seek jobs away from the economically depressed reservations. It was suggested that a scholarship program would provide Indian youths the same educational opportunities as non-Indian youths. Haskell Indian School in Kansas was one of the few institutions providing higher education to young Native Americans. However, other institutions of higher education expressed willingness to consider Indians for admission.

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Indian reluctance to change was cited as procrastination which some federal officials refused to tolerate. The Menominees were an example. On July 11, 1957, Department of the Interior officials sent letters to Senator James E. Murray, Chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in the Senate, and Congressman Clair Engle, Chairman of the Committee of the Interior and Insular Affairs in the House of Representatives, charging the Menominees with procrastinating on termination. The Indians claimed more time was needed to prepare for final termination. Consequently Senate Bill 2131 delayed the terminal date from December 31, 1957, to a later date which Department of the Interior officials opposed.

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The Menominees requested that termination be deferred until the last day of December, 1958.

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The Senate Committee approved the amendment to Public Law 399 for the completion of studies and reports. Shortly

afterwards final Menominee termination was deferred to December 31, 1959. Later, it was again deferred until December 31, 1960.⁴³ Assistant Interior Secretary Roger Ewart objected that too much time and money was being spent to achieve Menominee termination. The Menominee Adult Educational Program cost the Federal Government \$250,000 per year. Ewart also claimed the government made a mistake in assuming the total cost for Menominee termination when originally the Indians agreed to pay part of the expenditure.

The Menominees claimed that their people were still unprepared for complete withdrawal of federal supervision. They had been forcibly persuaded to accept termination and they could do little except delay its application. Their most effective tactic was to employ procrastination tactics.

Native Americans have utilized procrastination tactics to oppose federal Indian policy since the beginning of federal-Indian relations. Piecemeal appeasement of federal officials proved more effective for opposing federal policy than negotiation and war. On the other hand, some members of the Klamath tribe supported the termination policy. Mrs. Wade Crawford, a member of the Klamath Executive Committee supported all provisions of the termination act, Public Law 587. Only 390 of the 2,118 Klamaths were full-bloods. Most members were mixed-bloods being part French, Scotch, Italian, Spanish, German, Portuguese, and Irish.⁴⁴ Naturally mixed-blood Klamaths assimilated easier within communities of Anglo-Americans. Klamaths had attended public schools since 1927 so most received as much education as members of the local community. The complexity of preparing the Klamaths for termination delayed their final

termination. Senator Richard Neuberger of Oregon introduced Senate Bill 469 which authorized the federal government to compensate the tribe for at least a portion of the cost involved in preparation for the end of federal supervision.⁴⁵

Public interest in Indians and termination prompted citizens to write the President and other officials to express concern and interest in Indian affairs. Thus public opinion became a factor in determining Indian policy and officials adopted a more cautious approach in handling Indian matters. In one instance involving the Navajo, President Eisenhower responded to a citizen, "Since becoming President I have concerned myself to the fullest extent possible in Indian problems and have urged the Department of the Interior to give high priority to the fulfillment of the obligations that we, as a Nation, have toward those people."⁴⁶

In response to another citizen regarding policy toward Native Americans, President Eisenhower explained that "the central aim of our policy is to work constructively and cooperatively with the Indian people on programs that will better prepare them for the eventual assumption of full independence." He continued, clarifying the government's position on termination. "I assure you that both the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs have explicitly and vigorously opposed proposals for 'wholesale' or 'overnight' termination of the Federal trust responsibilities in Indian affairs . . . have emphasized that such programs must be carefully timed and adjusted to the capabilities of each individual group."⁴⁷

An article in The Christian Century on November 6, 1957, scolded the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Congress for not handling Indian matters

better. The two federal bodies were also cited for ignoring Indian interest groups. The article reviewed proposals in Congress which would dispel the ill effects of HCR 108. Passage of Senate Concurrent Resolution 3 would give new hope and new direction in Indian affairs. The bill stated that Congress would continually develop the human and economic potentials of American Indians based on self-determination. Another bill, House Resolution 2787, drawn up under the sponsorship of the National Congress of American Indians would solve the heirship land problems. The B.I.A. could do much more according to the article. Instead of trying to encourage Indians to leave homelands for urban life, Native Americans would fare better if they developed their lands and were properly guarded in the ownership of land. This would restore the confidence that Indians so badly needed.⁴⁸

One method for solving the Klamath problem was Senator Neuberger's bill calling for the appropriation of \$100 million or more to enable the federal government to purchase Klamath holdings. The United States Forest Service or Fish and Wildlife Service were likely agencies to handle the property. By doing this, the Indians would get a fair price for their land and the rich timberland would become a national resource guarded against exploitation.⁴⁹

In November, 1957, Neuberger sponsored a hearing in Oregon in support of his bill. During the three-day hearing several witnesses expressed reluctance to have a federal agency managing the land; they preferred that this be done by a private company purchasing the land. Spokesmen for Western Forest Industries Association and the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company guaranteed the Klamaths a higher price for their land.

Unexpected support for federal ownership came from civic groups at Klamath Falls, Chapters of the Izaak Walton League, and the Audubon Society. The tribal property contained 800,000 acres of prime ponderosa pine of four billion board feet; the remainder was marsh and grazing land.

Final termination of the Klamaths was set for August 13, 1960. An estimated 70 percent of the members were expected to withdraw from the tribe, meaning 70 percent of the tribal forest would need to be sold within a two-year period. Department of the Interior officials made two recommendations for solving the Klamath problem. They proposed that a portion of the forest be sold for withdrawing members to private buyers on a competitive basis with two restrictions. "The purchaser must agree to manage the forest land on sustained-yield principles, and the price must be not less than its appraised fair market value if the property were offered for sale during the 2-year period without any restrictions regarding sustained yield."⁵⁰ Secondly, if the land could not be sold under these conditions then the Secretary of Agriculture would make the land part of the National Forest Program, and the Klamaths would be paid the government appraised value of the property. In order for the government to buy the land, an estimated appropriation of \$100 million was needed.

Adding to the termination difficulties, in December, 1957, the Menominees and Wisconsin state officials requested deferment of Menominee termination to June 30, 1961. More time for planning and for state legislation regarding county organization and taxation of the Menominee forest⁵¹ was needed. Interior Department officials felt pressured into approving the extended date. The House and the Senate disagreed upon an amendment

of the amount to reimburse the Menominees for termination costs which further complicated the Menominee situation. Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin announced his intention to seek a repeal of the entire Menominee Termination Act because of the increasing complications.

However, termination did proceed for some tribes. The Chief of the Branch of Tribal Programs was directed on December 17, 1957, to begin termination programs for seven tribes in Northeastern Oklahoma. Field workers informed tribal members of meetings scheduled with Bureau officials. Federal withdrawal from these tribes probably went smoothly because of the small amount of property owned by the tribes. The Eastern Shawnees owned 58.19 acres, the Seneca-Cayugas 1,052.89 acres, and the Modocs two individual allotments and a four-acre cemetery.⁵² The land holdings of the Peorias, Ottawas, Wyandots and Quapaws were not much larger. With cooperation from the leaders of the tribes, Bureau of Indian Affairs officials had little trouble preparing these tribes for final termination.

For 1957, the 85th Congress appropriated a record \$109,410,000 for Indian programs and operations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This was about 25 percent, or \$21 million, more than the 1956 fiscal year. The new adult vocational training program accounted for most of the expenditure. An important aspect of Indian affairs in 1957 was concentration on the economy of Native Americans rather than emphasis on termination. Emmons' leadership had produced a more patient and humanitarian attitude. This also appeared in Congress which was in contrast to the tough "get out of the Indian business" approach of the 83rd Congress, and the subdued "prepare the Indians" policy of the 84th Congress.

On January 13, 1958, Interior Secretary Seaton wrote President Eisenhower of a proposed bill to amend the Klamath Termination Act.⁵³ On the same day the Department of the Interior released a statement by Seaton asking Congress to protect the Klamath forest. In addition to the threat of exploitation of the Klamaths and the timber, Seaton emphasized the importance of the land serving as a nesting ground and feeding ground for migrating fowl and deer, and other wildlife.⁵⁴

On January 16, 1958, during the second session of the 85th Congress, Senator Neuberger introduced Senate Bill 2047. He claimed that due to inactivity of the Administration toward finding a solution to the Klamath problem, he was submitting his bill before time ran out on the Klamaths and they were terminated.⁵⁵

Under Secretary of the Interior Hatfield Chilson compared Senate Bill 2047 with Senate Bill 3051 to determine which would be of more benefit to the Klamaths.⁵⁶ Neuberger's bill required the sale of all tribal land, whereas Senate Bill 3051 authorized the sale of only about 70 percent of the land based on the percentage of the tribal members that would withdraw. Chilson pointed out that Senate Bill 3051 allowed private buyers an option to purchase the Klamath land at the appraised value, but the Neuberger bill only allowed the federal government to buy the land.

Under the provisions of Senate Bill 3051, the Department of the Interior saved a large sum of money, and the option of private buyers enabled the government to save even more money. The ecological provisions satisfied conservationists because 15,689 acres of marshland would be purchased from the Klamaths and operated as a national wildlife refuge. This portion of Klamath land was noted as one of the most important waterfowl

breeding and feeding grounds outside the national wildlife refuge system.

Large numbers of redheads, canvasbacks, and ruddy ducks were known to

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inhabit the area. Overall the enactment of Senate Bill 3051 enhanced the economy and ecology of the Klamath River Basin, protecting the wildlife and forest, and benefitted the Klamath Indians.

In an article in American Forest, Neuberger questioned the lack of representation of involved parties in the development of Senate Bill 3051. He claimed that the Department of the Interior ignored the Klamaths and did not even consult management specialists hired to prepare the Indians for termination. Furthermore, section 5 of the bill eliminated the period for further study and planning and substituted what he called a "crash program" for the sale of tribal assets. Neuberger claimed this was done without the Klamaths' knowledge. The Senator also inquired why
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a per capita payment of \$250 was inserted in the bill. He felt the most serious potential danger of the bill was that it put four billion board feet of prime ponderosa pine on the open market. In the end, Neuberger allowed his bill to expire, hoping that Public Law 587 would be carried out soon enough to protect and benefit the Klamaths.

A meeting was called for February 6, 1958, for the Modocs of Oklahoma to meet with Donald Foster, Area Director of the Portland, Oregon
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Area Office, and with other B.I.A. officials of Oklahoma. The conference in Miami, Oklahoma, yielded good news for the Modocs. The Bureau officers said that under Public Law 587 the Oklahoma Modocs would share in the sale of Klamath lands in Oregon. This was possible because the Modocs of Oklahoma were originally part of the Klamath Reservation according to a treaty negotiated in the 1800s.

In an effort to clearly define the termination policy, Commissioner Emmons proposed a guideline for the withdrawal of federal services and responsibilities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the tribes. "Termination of trusteeship means no loss, only gain, to the Indian. For example, before termination of the trusteeship over the affairs of any tribe, it is the announced policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to encourage the tribe to incorporate or, if they prefer, they may select a private trustee of their own choice to provide a legal entity for the tribal properties in order that the Secretary of the Interior can transfer title to their lands to the Indian tribe." ⁶⁰ Emmons emphasized the need for further legislation to insure the preparation of Native Americans for termination. In addition, research, evaluation, education, and protection of Indian rights were significant. The objective of Emmons' proposal was "Full rights and responsibilities of citizenship, as well as freedom from discriminatory Federal restriction, for all American Indians by the 4th of July 1976," the celebration of America's bicentennial.

On February 18, 1958, a special meeting of the Seneca-Cayuga Indians of Oklahoma with Bureau officials was held to discuss the termination of federal supervision over trust and restricted property of Indians. Those members present inquired about proposed legislation for the termination of their tribe. Although they originally had agreed to termination, they were having second thoughts. One inquired about boarding schools and hospitals, and asked if they would have access to them after termination. Former Chief David Charloe was concerned about the tribal elders and asked if they would have to pay taxes on their property.

Area Director of Muskogee Paul L. Fickinger assured Charloe that the law exempted original allottees from paying taxes for the rest of their lives. After some additional discussion, Chief Peter J. Buck asked all tribal members in favor of the proposed termination legislation to stand, but not one person rose. When all those opposed to termination were asked to stand, a majority of the Seneca-Cayugas stood up.⁶¹

The Seneca-Cayuga reversal on termination was typical of the Indian reaction. Native Americans felt threatened and believed that the federal government was going to liquidate them as Indians. Non-Indians who were interested in the welfare of Indians charged that Amerindians were forced to accept termination. In the case of the Menominees, one law firm charged immorality for forcing the Menominees to accept termination as the price for a per capita distribution.⁶²

Termination of the Menominees produced numerous requests from all parts of the country by people wanting to know more about them. The public's curiosity and concern for the Wisconsin Indians prompted Melvin Robertson, Superintendent for the Menominee at the Keshena Agency, to write a report on the tribe to inform people of the history, affairs, and federal legislation affecting the Indians. Robertson wrote there were numerous misconceptions about the Menominees. "Today (in 1958) the Menominee people have largely adopted the ways of the white man. There is little left of their native culture that does not reflect the white influence. . . . They are devout in their religious belief, being predominantly Catholic. . . . Most of the homes receive daily newspapers; about 75% of the households have television sets, and nearly every home has a radio and an automobile."⁶³

Due to the national attention given to the Menominees, whatever happened to the tribe could be expected to influence the reception of termination by other tribes. By the end of March, 1958, termination programs existed for the Klamaths and Uintah-Ouray, and termination programs were being developed for six other Indian groups including three small
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Oklahoma tribes.

On March 31, 1958, a letter from Muskogee Area Director Fickinger to Commissioner Emmons related the difficulty he had encountered in getting consent for termination from the Seneca-Cayugas. "It seems to me that the time has now come that we should spend no further time in attempting to secure approval of the Seneca-Cayuga's, or for the further explanation of the proposed legislation for termination of Federal supervision," wrote the Director. "We have over a period of the last two or three years held at least five meetings with them on this subject. We cannot go on
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indefinitely this way." Fickinger recommended immediate termination legislation, pointing out that the tribe was small and held only 1,052.89 acres in trust.

Fickinger's response for wanting to terminate the Seneca-Cayugas were similar to those of other officials dealing with small Indian groups. In April, 1958, Congressman Robert W. Hemphill of South Carolina proposed terminating the Catawba Indians of South Carolina. He stated, "These proud people who have always exhibited the best citizenship, have depreciated numerically from 6,000 people who owned 144,000 acres of land to
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614, at the last count." The congressman contended that the Catawbas' land held in trust prevented from improving their economy. The Indians were well integrated in the ways of white neighbors, and trust status

disallowing them from borrowing for homes or doing business effectively. Hemphill then stated that the Catawbas had voted for termination, and adopted a tribal resolution authorizing him to introduce a termination bill in Congress.

The main problem in dealing with small tribes was the lack of an official body to represent them. Only a few executives and federal officials met with entire tribes. To solve this problem Fickinger informed other area directors of the Quapaw Plan.⁶⁷ The plan established a tribal council and a business committee to represent the Quapaws in negotiations with the federal government. Adoption of this plan meant federal officials would not need all tribal members present at meetings to discuss business.

Some people charged that the small tribes were manipulated into accepting termination. One of the most serious incidents of this sort involved the Senecas of New York. A proposed Allegheny Dam Project costing \$110 million would furnish hydroelectric power to residents in the Upper Ohio River area. The Allegheny Dam Project, also called Kinzua, caused controversy because it would flood Seneca land forcing the Indians to relocate elsewhere. On July 4, 1958, Dr. Arthur E. Morgan recommended an alternate plan called the Conswango Dam Project to Mrs. Ann Whiteman, Personal Secretary to President Eisenhower. Dr. Morgan suggested the Conswango Dam Project replace the proposed Kinzua Dam. The alternate plan would honor the United States treaty with the Senecas. Pittsburgh would be protected twice as much from flood waters descending the Allegheny and Mississippi Rivers. The alternate reservoir would provide more water usage for sanitation and industrial use during low water years. A larger lake for recreational purposes was another advantage.⁶⁸

The disadvantages of the Conswango Project were the occupation of more land and displacement of more people. The alternate project would also cost 25 percent more than the Kinzua Project. President Eisenhower withheld executive action pending additional study of the
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 matter.

A citizen wrote Secretary Seaton on June 28, 1958, concerning manipulation of another tribe. "The Fort Sill Apaches are being pressured into terminating their reservation," wrote the citizen. He also asserted that the Klamaths and the Menominees were forced to accept termination. But the Indians were partially at fault too. Their dependence and the existence of social problems such as alcoholism deepened their unfortunate economic plight. Their situation encouraged federal paternal-
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 ism.

At regular meetings and during special meetings, the Menominees discussed termination legislation. During councils from April through June, 1958, the Menominees discussed ways to best prepare for the final
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 withdrawal of federal supervision. For minors in the tribe, a recommendation was made for a trust rather than the appointment of guardians. The Indians also noted the need for completion of the tribal roll before fee patents were issued. Plans for a tribal government under state jurisdiction of Wisconsin were discussed because, according to Public Law 280, the state would have civil and criminal jurisdiction over the Menominees. The members also discussed democratic management for business enterprises. Tribal politics intensified as factions formed over the issues growing out of the aftermath of termination.

In one meeting the Menominees discussed their status after termination. One tribal member asked what they would be known as and if

there would still be a tribe. "Menominee Enterprise" was proposed as a possible name. Another suggestion was "Corporation of Menominee" in which the people would be known as members of the corporation.⁷² With the adoption of such names, the Menominees would no longer be recognized as a tribe.

As the termination controversy intensified the Bureau of Indian Affairs promised to help Indians better understand the program. On July 3, 1958, at Estes Park, Colorado, Commissioner Emmons addressed the Triennial Conference of the National Fellowship of Indian Workers on the current government Indian programs.⁷³ Emmons emphasized highlights of progress in Indian health. The number of physicians had doubled, the number of public health nurses tripled, and health education and sanitation staffs were enlarged. Broader and more adequate educational opportunities were noted. In reference to the Navajos Emmons pointed out that 90 percent of Navajo children were in school, compared to 50 percent in 1953. In closing Emmons stated, "the Indian morale has been further weakened . . . by the groups which have been constantly stressing that Indians must be kept in a tribal setting, that they will inevitably fail if they attempt to leave the reservation." The Commissioner claimed that Native Americans had inherent capabilities to succeed if they had the educational and economic opportunities equal to other Americans.

On August 31, 1958, Department of the Interior officials reported on the progress of Indian education. Fortunately some tribes like the Wind River Shoshones of Wyoming started college scholarship programs with assistance from sources other than the federal government. The Commissioner stated, "thanks to these and other aids provided by

governmental and philanthropic organizations, the number of Indians pursuing studies beyond high school level rose from approximately 2,300 in the 1954-55 academic year to more than 3,800 in 1957-58, an increase of about 65 percent in three years."⁷⁴ Twenty-four tribes had grant programs to further the higher education of members. Interestingly many Native Americans in the 1950s realized the importance of education, intensifying a broadening Indian education movement.

In August, 1958, the 85th Congress passed Public Law 671, with Eisenhower's approval, which terminated recognition of 41 Indian rancherias in California.⁷⁵ This was one of the largest groups of different Indian communities to be terminated by one bill. The Commissioner of the B.I.A. wrote Area Director Leonard Hill at the Sacramento Agency that "every employee of the Bureau should be designed to stimulate and encourage action by the Indians themselves to develop programs" for economic independence.⁷⁶ These Indian groups were deemed competent for termination, yet this action added to the controversy surrounding termination.

On September 18, 1958, Interior Secretary Seaton spoke on radio station KCLA in Flagstaff, Arizona, to clarify federal Indian policy pertaining to congressional approval of HCR 108 and termination. "Since that time--that is since 1953--the pros and cons of public opinion relative to congressional policy on Indian affairs have been given wide expression in the press and in other media throughout the country." The Secretary continued, "Some people have interpreted these statements to mean that it is the intention of Congress and the Department of the Interior to abandon Indian groups regardless of their ability to fend for themselves."⁷⁷

Seaton then stated his position, "No Indian tribe or group should end its relationship with the Federal Government unless such tribe or group had clearly demonstrated--first, that it understands the plan under which such a program would go forward, and second, that the tribe or group affected concurs in and supports the plan proposed." The Secretary deemed that a lot of progress had been made since 1953 in Indian education, health and the general welfare of Native Americans. He added that the Eisenhower Administration was fully in support and deeply concerned with assisting American Indians in adjusting to the rest of society.

While the government continued emphasizing the positive aspects of the termination policy, individuals and organizations were criticizing the motives of federal officials. Congressman Lee Metcalf of Minnesota claimed the Bureau of Indian Affairs pressured Indians to accept termination. In the process, he said, the government failed to protect Indian rights and land titles. As evidence Metcalf cited that funds of the Menominees were withheld until the Indians agreed to termination.⁷⁸

President Joseph Garry of the National Congress of American Indians told tribal delegates at an annual NCAI conference that the present federal policy was the worst since the beginning of the 20th century. He pointed to the number of real estate offices that had mushroomed across Indian country, and charged that the Bureau of Indian Affairs' disposition of individually-owned Indian land encouraged the surge to Indian land. Garry⁷⁹ charged that the result was impoverishment of American Indians.

Accusations of unjust treatment of Native Americans and mishandling of their affairs forced federal officials to constantly clarify

the objectives of federal Indian policy. A television special as a part of the Kaleidoscope Program exposing the plight of Indians enhanced the charges against the B.I.A.. The program prompted one viewer to write his congressman. "In all my life I've never heard a good word for this Bureau," he wrote. "Couldn't this Bureau be transferred to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare where it might get more human and Christian leadership than it apparently receives from Interior."⁸⁰

In response to the damaged reputation of the B.I.A., the Department of the Interior released a statement explaining its position. The Interior Department stated that large federal appropriations for Indian programs were made to reform deplorable conditions. "In 1958, the total financing was in excess of \$90,000,000 or more than double that of 1953. About 67 percent was furnished by customary lenders and about 33 percent by tribal funds and loans through the Bureau. In 1953, tribal funds and loans through the Bureau totaled about \$22,718,000. In 1958, the amount had increased to \$30,557,000."⁸¹

The Interior Department statement posed a most significant question: "Why, then, do we still have a so-called 'Indian problem' in the United States today?" The Interior Department answered its own question. "One reason is because the Federal Government itself has often been strongly paternalistic in its dealing with Indian people. In fact, at some periods in the past it has actually given the Indians every reason to believe it would always furnish their food, lodging, and other services free. This has had the effect of dampening Indian initiative and encouraging an attitude of drift."⁸² Indians could no longer live in the past. Their existence depended upon adjustment to the lifestyle in

accordance to a modernized society, meaning that Indians should stop being so dependent and learn to stand on their own feet.

In November, 1958, a report to the United States Congress, reviewing the programming, budgeting, accounting and activities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the Comptroller General of the United States disputed the optimistic federal claim on handling of Indian affairs.⁸³ The report listed the weaknesses of withdrawal of federal supervision over Indians. Area offices in Gallup, New Mexico and Aberdeen, South Dakota failed to implement the B.I.A.'s policy of long-range planning for tribes destined to be terminated. Reports on tribal self-management focused on the past instead of the future of the tribes when federal supervision would be withdrawn. Delay in programming for construction and maintenance of buildings and utilities for tribes was also cited in the report. Those buildings and utilities serving tribes throughout the nation were outdated. In essence, the report continued, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had become such a large bureaucracy that it could not keep up with its obligations to Indians. Even at the insistence of top officials in the Department of the Interior, Congress and the Executive Branch, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was slow in channeling paper work to initiate action.

In spite of delays of some federal services to Native Americans, appropriations for programs for 1955-58 indicated increases in all B.I.A. services.⁸⁴ Increases were made in health activities, health construction facilities, road construction and maintenance, resource management, and spending for Indian education. The annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior reflected increased

federal appropriations for assistance. Those tribes being terminated were noted in the Commissioner's report as receiving special assistance.

Although federal support for Indian education, health, and economy had increased, questions were raised as to actual progress in these areas. For example, to what degree were Indian children attending public school? In Mississippi there were less than 25 Indian children attending public schools in large cities, and none in the local rural districts in which they lived. In these districts Indian children were not admitted to white schools and Indian parents refused to send their children to schools for Blacks.⁸⁶

In North Carolina only limited progress had been made in the number of Indian children attending public schools. Most of the Cherokees attended the reservation school. In Louisiana the Bureau of Indian Affairs had operated a school for Indian children since 1940.

Although federal officials worked to desegregate Indian communities, other American citizens had not socially accepted Indians in certain geographical areas and congested Indian populated areas. The white residents in the extreme South especially discriminated against Indians as well as Blacks. Two-thirds of the Seminole children enrolled in white public schools in Florida were reported lacking equal educational opportunity. The largest problem of Indian education was the absence of public school facilities. Often such facilities were not available near reservations.

Considerable improvements were made in the area of Indian health. Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare made the following report. "Tuberculosis, once the leading cause of

death among Indians and Alaska Natives, dropped a full 40 percent among the Indians in the 4-year period ended with 1957. Among Alaska Natives, the decrease was even greater--63 percent in the same period." There had been a reduction of 12 percent in the Indian infant rate and the death rate from diseases of the stomach and intestines had decreased by 26 percent.⁸⁷

However, Flemming pointed out that "Language differences combined with limited understanding by Indians of health and disease concepts still constitute obstacles of considerable magnitude . . . Geographic and cultural isolation on some 250 Federal Indian reservations and in hundreds of native villages in Alaska, combined with an extremely low economic level, are serious handicaps in the provision of services."⁸⁸

Years of contact with new diseases had drastically reduced the population of American Indians. As of January 1, 1959, there was an estimated 520,000 Indians in the United States excluding Alaska. About 275,000 or a little more than half of the Indians lived on reservations and received federal services. An additional 50,000 Indians lived near reservations and the Bureau of Indian Affairs provided services to them. More specifically the B.I.A. provided services for those Indians living on reservations, adjacent to reservations, on non-trust lands within reservation areas, or on widely dispersed allotments on the public domain, regarded as "resident" population.⁸⁹ As indicated, services rendered to the tribes during the second Eisenhower administration centered on the economy of the tribe, education, and health.

In January, 1959, Department of the Interior officials announced that lands belonging to the Klamaths of Oregon had been appraised at

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\$90,791,123. Another appraisal figure placed the individual per capita share for 1,659 withdrawing persons, after sale of tribal assets, at \$44,000. This no doubt persuaded many Klamaths to support termination.

A few weeks later Department of Interior officials announced that the Klamath lands could not be sold until after the termination
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date, April 1, 1959. Delay in the sale led Interior Department officials to propose legislation permitting the B.I.A. to make interest-free loans to withdrawing Klamaths. Ironically this was what Senator Neuberger had tried to avoid when he introduced his bill. Department statisticians estimated that from 250 to 275 Klamath families would need financial assistance. Money from the Klamath forest land would not be available until 1960 or 1961. Thus, withdrawing members of less than one-fourth Klamath blood, approximately 253 members or 15% of the tribe, would be
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allowed to take out loans.

To protect the economic interests of the Klamaths, the Department of the Interior announced on March 4, 1959, that the National Bank of Portland, Oregon would take over the trusteeship of the Klamath es-
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tate. The bank replaced the Bureau of Indian Affairs as trustee of business matters for the 473 remaining members on the tribal roll. Deeds affecting a total of approximately 140,000 acres of land and \$737,608.61 in cash were turned over to the bank.

A letter from Vice-President and Executive Trust Officer L. B. Staver to Secretary Seaton explained that in becoming the Klamath trustee, bank workers experienced problems and troublesome details. Staver wrote, "In resolving these difficulties we were most appreciative of the

considerate and cooperative attitude shown us by all the members of your staff with whom we have had occasion to come in contact. May I also say that we are pleased to have the opportunity to render this service for the remaining members of the Klamath Indian tribe." ⁹⁴

The transfer of trusteeship of the Klamaths to the Portland National Bank and other Bureau steps taken to speed up termination of tribes provoked criticism and a re-evaluation of federal Indian policy. During March, 1959, in the first session of the 86th Congress, Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana questioned the actions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Senator submitted Senate Concurrent Resolution 12 calling for a restatement of federal responsibility to Indians and tribal organizations. "In my estimation, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is trying to move too fast," said Mansfield, "and many of its policies on welfare, land sales, and relocation tend to thrust responsibilities on many Indians before they are ready, and to dissolve traditional Indian relationships." ⁹⁵ Senators James E. Murray of Montana and Neuberger sponsored S.C.R. 12 to slow the rapid liquidation of tribes.

On January 26, 1959, the Menominee Coordinating & Negotiating Committee recommended to Secretary Seaton the formation of a tribal corporation. The termination plan called for a business corporation with a voting trust. This idea "afforded the greatest degree of flexibility and stability required for post-termination operation of Menominee properties." ⁹⁶ All voting stock of the corporation would be in the hands of trustees for a maximum of three continuous ten-year periods. Regulation of the business enterprises undertaken would be the responsibility of the Menominee Corporation. In essence the tribe became a business corporation after termination--a precedent which other tribes were to follow.

Several suggestions were made for the Menominee Plan which was being developed to meet the needs of the post-termination period. One called for the Menominees to organize a business corporation. Another stipulated for the remaining Menominee land to become a county of the state or as parts of surrounding counties. The Indians favored a combination of becoming a business corporation with the land to be a separate county in Wisconsin.

During all these preparations, many Menominees continued to doubt termination even though a bill had been introduced and passed setting final termination for 1961. In April, 1959, the Menominee Indian Study Committee met with tribal members to get opinions on the tribal plan for preparing for termination and afterwards. Menominee Agnes Dick stated: "The way I feel about termination, I don't think the real Menominee Indians are ready for the termination and I think that if they terminate this Reservation, the State will have . . . to take care of some of our people." She added, "I want to remain the way we are for another fifteen or twenty years. Then maybe most people will be ready." ⁹⁷

In the last days of March, 1959, the Catawbas met at the request of Congressman Hemphill to discuss the proposed termination bill affecting them. ⁹⁸ Hemphill asked the Catawbas if they wanted him to support the bill which would withdraw federal supervision over them. Out of 57 votes cast, 40 favored the introduction of the termination bill and 17 were opposed.

Later in April, 1959, Department of the Interior officials announced the Oklahoma Choctaws had requested a termination bill be introduced on their behalf. House Resolution 2722 proposed the termination of tribal assets, but not allotted lands of individual Choctaws

whose lands were still in trust with the federal government. More than 17,000 acres would be sold and the proceeds would be deposited to the credit of the tribe in the United States Treasury. This amount would be added to the existing sum of \$433,000 already in the Treasury for distribution to some 19,139 members on the Choctaw tribal roll. The Choctaws, like most Indians in Oklahoma, were integrated and were one of the most advanced Native American groups.

The Choctaws' request for termination and other Indian initiatives encouraged officials in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Commissioner Emmons met with the Navajo-sponsored Conference of Industrial Development at Gallup, New Mexico, to discuss the prospects and possibilities of greater industrial development in the Southwest. The Navajos' increasing tribal population made farming and stock raising more difficult. Emmons recommended attracting industries near the reservation, and advised development of natural resources on Navajo land to improve the economy.

Commissioner Emmons' desire to help Indians impressed Native Americans throughout the country. Out of gratitude, the Seminoles of Dania, Florida passed a tribal resolution to honor Commissioner Emmons in a ceremony on May 26, 1959, and recommended that he be awarded the Distinguished Service Award, the highest honor in the Department of the Interior.

In June in a session of the 86th Congress a resolution for Indians to improve their welfare was introduced. House Resolution 7701 proposed a program of economic uplift called "Operation Bootstrap", similar to one initiated in Puerto Rico. The legislation encouraged

industrial development within Indian communities to bring the Indian standard of living to the level of surrounding communities. The bill was liberally constructed to include tribal action as much as possible for the Indians to improve their economy. The bill exemplified a trend of encouraging Native Americans to attempt industrial development rather than to improve their livelihoods as farmers and ranchers.

In addition to encouraging industrial development, the federal government donated land to tribes as another means of assistance. On June 29, 1959, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Roger Ernst wrote President of the Senate Richard Nixon about a proposed bill. It read "to donate to certain Indian tribes some marginal lands of the United States, and to make such lands parts of the reservations involved." ¹⁰³ Approximately 346,370 acres of federally-owned submarginal land would be donated to 18 tribes or Indian communities. "These submarginal lands are needed by the Indians in order to obtain maximum utilization of their tribal lands and in order to augment their other income," wrote Ernst. This raised a problem of whether the tribes would have actual or trust ownership of the lands. Ernst stated either would be acceptable.

In early July, 1959, Department of the Interior officials announced that they had submitted to Congress a proposal for the submarginal lands legislation. ¹⁰⁴ The United States government had purchased the lands in the mid-1930s under the National Industrial Recovery Act to protect the lands from private exploitation and perhaps for tribes in the vicinities to use. Federal supervision was necessary for conservation purposes to avoid damaging the lands. This move hopefully would improve the reservation economies.

Another reform bill was enacted on the last day of July, 1959. President Eisenhower signed Senate Bill 56 authorizing the Public Health Service to provide essential sanitation facilities to Indian communities. Senator Murray wrote Eisenhower expressing appreciation for approving his bill, and pointed out the significance of decent sanitation facilities to improve Indian health. "Twenty-two per cent of all Indian deaths occur during the first year of life, compared with only seven per cent in the population as a whole," quoted the Senator. "Nearly a third of all Indian deaths are accounted for before the fifth year of life, as compared to eight per cent of the general population." ¹⁰⁵ Murray asserted that a healthy home environment would enable Indian children to live to be adults.

One Catawba member, Mrs. Gladys Thomas, testified on the conditions of her people and explained the social and economic difficulties facing many Native Americans. "We live out in the country and use old country roads. When I went to school we were not even permitted to ride the school bus. I had to quit school in the ninth grade because they didn't allow our people on the reservation to hold public jobs which amounted to anything more than cutting sorghum." ¹⁰⁶ Mrs. Thomas stated that the Catawba Indians were refused civil services many times and were told they were not taxpayers. She responded that she paid income taxes, taxes on her car when she purchased it and every other kind of tax, except property taxes.

Thomas supported termination because Indians could use their properties to borrow money to develop and make improvements on their lands. So far the Indians' trust status hindered them from having a

better livelihood. But she iterated that termination was not for all Indians. "Our people are just like any other nationality of people. We have some who would not try, but they are very few, not many. The majority will try. I think that you will see better homes on the reservation. Some of them do not have fine education and all that, but they have knowledge and foresight enough to see the benefits."

On August 19, 1959, Department of the Interior officials announced regulations governing the preparation of the Quapaw tribal roll for the distribution of a claims settlement. The Indian Claims Commission decided in 1954 in favor of the Quapaws, increasing the amount in trust in the United States Treasury to \$1 million.¹⁰⁷ The regulations contained procedures to determine who was eligible to share in the per capita distribution.

In essence federal policy sought to terminate tribes first, then help tribal members to develop economically. Senator Murray criticized Emmons and the handling of Indian affairs under the Eisenhower Administration. "Almost from the beginning of the present Commissioner's tenure, I have complained about two major issues of policy. One of these involved credit for Indians, particularly the niggardly management of the revolving loan fund established under the act of June 18, 1934," stated the Senator. "The second has been the unrealistic attitude of the Bureau regarding the land problem."¹⁰⁸ Murray claimed that the loan program got Indians into financial trouble, often from making poor investments. He also charged that development of reservation lands was not practical in many cases because of the poor quality of the lands.

Murray faulted the federal Indian policy of the Eisenhower administration in its basic attitude towards Indian affairs. He iterated

that "it was concerned with the welfare of the American Indians, was preaching principles or doctrines which failed to take into account sufficiently the simple fact that the real objects of Federal Indian policy are human beings." Therefore the termination policy was harming Native Americans. Murray contended that the social and economic welfare of Native Americans should be concentrated on first, then perhaps gradually liberate them from federal supervision as they became ready.

The government's mishandling of land problems is made evident when on October 9, 1959, 52,000 acres of land in Utah was transferred to the Navajo Tribe. The transfer completed a land exchange agreement under which the Navajos received additional acreage in Utah's "Four Corners" area as compensation for lands they surrendered to permit construction of the Glen Canyon Dam. ¹⁰⁹ Murray advocated the exchange did not include mineral rights which prevented the Navajos from developing natural resources. Instead the northern boundary of the McCracken Mesa area would be extended, permitting the Indians to use the extra area for grazing purposes for their sheep.

Despite criticism Commissioner Emmons established rapport with many Native Americans. His efforts to prepare Indians for a new lifestyle under termination also earned him respect from many non-Indians. Undoubtedly his administration of Indian affairs in the second Eisenhower administration was more effective and humane than that of his predecessor, Dillon S. Myer.

On December 23, 1959, Emmons submitted his resignation to President Eisenhower. "Almost eight years ago I was honored and profoundly grateful when you appointed me to serve as Commissioner of the Bureau

of Indian Affairs in your Administration," stated Emmons. "Under your inspiring leadership and with the help of men like the late Secretary Douglas McKay and Secretary Fred A. Seaton, I believe we have accomplished much since 1953 to help out long-neglected Indian citizenry along the road toward a better way of life."¹¹⁰

As Indian Commissioner, Emmons had helped Native Americans through one of the most crucial periods of federal-Indian relations. The "paper genocide" of American Indians under the termination policy subjected the Eisenhower administration to much criticism.¹⁰⁸ "Termination" itself, became an ambiguous word in federal Indian policy that signified the extinction of numerous things: tribal governments, allotments, reservations, Indian rights, and treaty obligations. Termination in the case of the Menominees as the "model tribe," resulted in formation of a business corporation in an Indian county.¹¹¹ The Menominee remnants were subjected to trying to survive as a business enterprise.¹¹² Termination meant the ending of various federal programs of Indian education pertaining to schools and facilities, Indian hospitals and clinics, road building and maintenance, and the Agricultural Extension Program. Finally extinguishing the Bureau of Indian Affairs was the ultimate goal of termination.

In retrospect the termination policy of the second Eisenhower administration was a failure. The President and his aides did not understand the pace of social and economic change and they failed to realize the Indians' reluctance to become objects of social experiment. While termination faltered, federal officials were conceiving yet another policy which would attempt to urbanize Indians--Relocation.

FOOTNOTES

¹Speech by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Glenn L. Emmons at a luncheon meeting of the Muskogee Chamber, Muskogee, Oklahoma, January 6, 1955, Box 618, Official File of White House Central Files, Eisenhower Library.

²"Consultation or Consent?" Christian Century, (January 25, 1956), Vol. 73: 103-04.

³Report on Audit of Administration of Indian Lands by Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, January, 1956, Box 117, Official File of White House Central Files, Eisenhower Library.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"Commission to Study Alcoholism Among Indians Appointed," February 2, 1956, News Release by the Department of the Interior, Box 49416, Pierre Indian Agency Correspondence, FRC, Kansas City, Missouri.

⁶Statement on Current Issues in Indian Affairs, April, 1956, Box 9, William Brophy Papers, Truman Library and Box 12, Fred Seaton Papers, Eisenhower Library.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Paul L. Fickinger to Guy Froman, February 15, 1956, Box 393333, Acc. No. 69-A-430, Muskogee Area Office Correspondence, Record Group 75, FRC, Fort Worth, Texas.

⁹Minutes of the Meeting of the Modoc Tribe of Indians, March 12, 1956, Box 399333, Acc. No. 69-A-430, FRC, Fort Worth, Texas.

¹⁰Memorandum from Glenn Emmons to Area Directors and Superintendents, April 12, 1956, Box 417599, Record Group 75, FRC, San Francisco, California.

¹¹Memorandum from Area Director to Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Assistant Commissioners, May 3, 1956, Box 564255, Acc. No. 62-A-400, Minneapolis Area Office Correspondence, FRC, Kansas City, Missouri.

¹²Paul L. Fickinger to Ed Edmondson, June 6, 1956, Box 393333, Acc. No. 69-A-430, Muskogee Area Office Correspondence, Record Group 75, FRC, Fort Worth, Texas.

¹³Nils A. Lennartson to Billy Howell, Box 343, President's Personal File of White House Central Files, Eisenhower Library.

¹⁴Departmental Manual of Department of the Interior, "Objectives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs," Box 12, Fred Seaton Papers, Eisenhower Library.

¹⁵Winnebago Meeting with Commissioner Glenn Emmons, July 20, 1956, Omaha, Nebraska, Box 368, Acc. No. 68-A-2045, Record Group 75, FRC, Suitland, Maryland.

¹⁶Minutes of Standing Rock Tribal Conference with Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 20, 1956, Omaha, Nebraska, Box 3, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Special Collections, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

¹⁷Marie L. Hayes to Paul L. Fickinger and C. C. Marrs, July 23, 1956, Box 393324, Acc. No. 69-A-430, Record Group 75, FRC, Fort Worth, Texas.

¹⁸"Question Validity of Klamath Plan," Christian Century, (July 25, 1956), Vol. 73: 882-83.

¹⁹Fred Seaton to Walter Christenson, August 1, 1956, Box 7, Personal Correspondence of Fred Seaton Papers, Eisenhower Library.

²⁰Paul L. Fickinger to E. E. Lamb, August 9, 1956, Box 393333, Acc. No. 69-A-430, Muskogee Area Office Correspondence, Record Group 75, FRC, Fort Worth, Texas.

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CHAPTER V

THE RELOCATION PROGRAM: URBANIZATION OF THE RED MAN

The performance of American Indians during World War II impressed federal officials and indicated to them that Indians had an aptitude for working in industry. As Indian veterans returned to reservations, they increased pressure on the economic resources of Indian lands, causing high unemployment and increased poverty which indicated that reservations had limitations. Barton Greenwood, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote Senator Robert S. Kerr of Oklahoma that he estimated 50 percent of the returning Indian veterans had enough experience¹ off reservations to compete with other Americans for jobs. A plausible solution was to relocate the surplus Indian population in urban areas where they could find jobs. He concluded that it would also be best for the Indians to relocate them far away from their original homes while they were adapting to urbanized living to prevent easy return to home-²lands. When the Indian population had adjusted to urban living federal³ officials suggested there would then be no reason for reservations.

In 1948, urgent economic needs of the populous Navajo in Arizona led the federal government to establish a job placement program--laying the foundation for the Relocation Program. Relocation was the second

phase of federal Indian policy in the 1950s. After termination of tribes and Indian lands and withdrawal of trust restrictions, Native Americans were encouraged to seek employment in the cities. Thus the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to consider a policy of relocating surplus Indian to urban areas, if they were employable.⁴ Placement offices were established in Denver, Salt Lake City, and Los Angeles. Later, in 1950, the services were extended to all tribes.

In a conference with Area Directors on January 9, 1951, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dillon S. Myer asserted the need for the funding of the Relocation Program. "We are hoping that Congress will provide all the funds requested."⁵ He noted that there was some criticism of the program because it seemed "to rush into a sweeping-out program." The Commissioner denied that the Bureau of Indian Affairs was forcing Native Americans to relocate.

Myer strongly advocated relocation because it was compatible with his philosophy of termination--that Native Americans should be encouraged to live like other Americans. Moving Indians to urban areas to work and live would, he believed, improve their standard of living. Although Myer enthusiastically supported relocation during his three-year administration, the program did not gain momentum.⁶

Application for relocation did not involve strict regulations.⁷ Young and old Indian men and women were allowed to apply. Native Americans would frequently arrive at an agency office and ask, "What is this Relocation that I've been hearing about?" In many cases curiosity about city life motivated them to apply for relocation. A survey of the Klamaths who relocated to Chiloquin and Klamath Falls, two small areas

near the reservation in Oregon, indicated that the Indians were attracted to the stores, schools, and movie theaters.⁸ In addition, veterans, relatives, and friends made reservation Indians envious when they talked about adventurous good-times in the cities.

After an initial request was made to a B.I.A. official at the agency on the reservation or at the regional area office, the paperwork for relocation began. The applicant's job skills and employment records were examined and contact was made with the relocation office in the city the applicant had selected. Usually the applicant took a bus or train to the designated city where he would be met by a relocation worker. Upon arrival, the relocation office issued a check to the relocatee to be spent under the supervision of the relocation officer. Often the officer took the relocatee to a nearby store to purchase toiletries, cookware, groceries, bedding, clothes, and an alarm clock to ensure punctual arrival for work.

Accounting for each hour of the day was new to most relocated Indians. Many of the relocatees had to be shown how a clock worked and how to tell time. They were shown how and where to shop for groceries, and were informed of a nearby church of their choice. After the relocatee and his family were settled, the relocation worker and neighborhood clergyman visited the newly arrived Indian family. Normally the B.I.A. paid the relocatee's first month's rent. Expenses incurred for traveling to work, and for clothing and groceries were included. After the first month the relocatee was on his own. The relocation office was required to check the progress of the relocatee for nine years. The office provided continuous counseling and assistance in job placement.⁹

Young adult Indians were the most common applicants for relocation. A young married man would arrive at his agency, asking that he and his family be relocated. Frequently, Indian men left families at home until they found jobs and housing, sending for their families later. The most ambitious relocatees were young adult Indians with some college education who relocated the farthest to large cities.¹⁰ They could be expected to better survive the transition to urban life and compete with other Americans for jobs and housing.

During mid-summer 1951 government workers were assigned to provide relocation services in Oklahoma, New Mexico, California, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado. In November, 1951, a field relocation office was opened in Chicago to place Navajos in jobs there. Shortly afterwards it was incorporated as a part of the Relocation Program to serve all Native Americans.¹¹ The first relocatees arrived in Chicago in early February, 1952.¹² Navajo placement offices in Salt Lake City, Denver, and Los Angeles¹³ were also expanded to include all Native Americans.

During the first year of operation in 1952 relocation workers processed 442 Native Americans for direct employment in Los Angeles, Denver, and Chicago.¹⁴ Congress appropriated slightly more than one-half million dollars for the program and authorized opening of additional offices.¹⁵ For 1953 Commissioner Myer requested \$8.5 million for vocational training and relocation. He recommended that the Bureau of Indian Affairs negotiate contracts with state and private vocational schools throughout the nation in areas where employment opportunities were available. "Unfortunately we did not get approval of this full program," said the Commissioner. "Although we did secure enough funds to establish a pilot reservation program throughout the country."¹⁶

By the end of 1953, Bureau of Indian Affairs relocation agents had placed 2,600 Indians in permanent jobs either directly or through public employment agencies. Financial assistance enabled 650 workers to¹⁷ move their families to nearby communities where they worked. Bureau agents experienced problems in locating enough jobs and were criticized for placing relocatees in seasonal railroad and agricultural work, the lowest paying and least secure type of employment.

To help place the increasing number of relocatees, a relocation office was opened in Oakland in 1954. Another was opened in San Francisco one year later, and offices in San Jose and St. Louis were¹⁸ opened in 1956. Additional offices were started in Dallas, Cleveland, Oklahoma City, and Tulsa. By late 1954 approximately 6,200 Native Americans out of an estimated 245,000 on reservations had resettled via¹⁹ the relocation program in large cities. In Chicago alone, from 1952 to 1955, some 3,000 reservation Indians, mainly from the Southwest,²⁰ relocated there.

On January 6, 1955, Commissioner Emmons addressed the Muskogee, Oklahoma Chamber of Commerce and reaffirmed the needs for the relocation program as stated two years earlier by Dillon Myer. The generally poor quality of reservation land and the increasing Indian population necessitated a program to alleviate crowding and poverty.²¹ Later the Commissioner sent a memo to the Secretary of the Interior dated May 20, 1955, explaining the duties of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in directing the Relocation Program. "For those who want to leave the reservations, we are providing practical help and guidance under our relocation program," wrote Emmons. "We furnish transportation both for the worker

and his family to the community he has selected. We help in finding a job, in locating a suitable home, and in getting generally adjusted in the new surroundings."

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The Indian Commissioner foresaw improvement for American Indians through relocation. On October 25, 1955, Department of the Interior officials announced a new adult education program to serve five tribal groups: the Seminole of Florida, Papago of Arizona, Rosebud Sioux of South Dakota, Turtle Mountain Chippewa of North Dakota and Fort Hall (Shoshone-Bannock) of Idaho which were among the neediest of the Indian population.

"For many years I have felt that one of the biggest factors holding Indian people back and retarding their advancement has been the lack of educational opportunities," Emmons stated. "Our first job, of course, was to make schooling available to all Indian youngsters of normal school age. . . . The next step is to provide some type of elementary schooling for grown-up Indians who have never had this advantage." This education reform program became a part of the relocation program to assist Native Americans to better adjust and integrate into the mainstream society.

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One view stated that relocation provided a "New Deal" for original Americans and offered them a chance to start over. Indian Bureau officials encouraged Indians to relocate although ostensibly on a voluntary basis. Brochures and pamphlets were circulated throughout reservations to persuade Indians that a better life was awaiting them in urban areas. Pictures of executives dressed in white shirts and ties sitting behind desks insinuated that Indians could achieve similar

positions. Photos of a suburban white frame house with green shutters were included to entice Indian women. The photo suggested that through relocation the Indians could provide their families with similar homes.

However, many Indians became disillusioned with relocation. The relocation experience was a cultural shock for those who had left the reservation and traveled a long distance for the first time. Getting off a bus in a strange, large city for the first time often was traumatic. Relocatees knew little about modern gadgets or the ways of Anglo-American society. Those relocatees who had not yet mastered the English language had the most difficulty.

Many newly relocated Indians were embarrassed to ask for assistance. "In situations of distress, the Indian often remains proudly silent. One relocatee was 'lost' in his room for 24 hours. He had lost the B.I.A. address. And although he had the phone number he was²⁴ 'ashamed' to ask how to dial." Common complaints from Indians included the noise, tension, and pace of city life. To avoid the fearful elevator, many Indians climbed the stairs in apartment buildings. Some Indian women found the outside bustling city difficult to bear and locked themselves in their apartments, afraid to go to the supermarket.

Towards the close of 1955 there was a decline in Indians²⁵ volunteering for relocation. Fear of big city life inhibited many. Living in large cities made many Indians feel insecure, lost, and inferior. Among other minorities in the cities--Blacks, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans--the uneducated, traditional Indians were isolated and at²⁶ the bottom of the social order.

Relocation officers attempted to prepare Indians for the drastic changes ahead of them. "The Indians are told of the problems

that will face them in industrial areas; problems like working on a regular schedule, big city traffic, higher rent, better clothes for themselves and their children, no free Indian hospital care, budgeting²⁷ their money, and living in a generally non-Indian society." Despite these radical changes, the number of applicants for relocation increased.

Accounts of specific incidents exemplified the difficulties that Indian relocatees experienced in relocating. An article in the Christian Science Monitor told of a fictitious Indian couple, but the story itself depicted a true picture of what relocation was like for a typical family. Tony and Martha Big Bear and their family had just arrived in Los Angeles from the reservation. Everything was new to Martha and she never said a word and scarcely raised her eyes. The first thing the relocation officer did was to advice Tony about money. The office drew him a \$50 check and told him how to open a bank account. The Big Bears were then temporarily put up in a nearby hotel.

Although Tony wanted to be a commercial artist, he settled for a job in an aircraft plant. "The Indian Bureau placement officer didn't have much trouble persuading Tony that he should take this first, and look into the art field after he's become familiar with Los Angeles. . . . Then the family had to have a more permanent place to live. The field office helped Tony find an apartment--a 'slum dwelling,' some people might call the place, but it was more adequate than anything²⁸ Martha was used to."

Things could have turned out otherwise for Tony and his family. Sometimes factories closed down and welfare agencies had to step in. Frequently the Indian Center in nearly every large city helped

with groceries and clothes. In most cases relocatees experienced difficulties in one way or another. A reporter for The Atlantic Monthly wrote on a true incident involving Little Light, her husband Leonard Bear, and their five children from a Creek Indian community in Oklahoma. "Today they are slum dwellers in Los Angeles, without land or home or culture or peace."

The reporter described meeting Little Light and her children "in the chairless kitchen-dining-living room of a small shanty on the outskirts of Los Angeles. Five children, black eyes round with wonder in their apricot faces, sheltered against her skirt. The walls were unpainted, the floor a patchwork of linoleum. Through an archway, another room was visible where three beds crowded together. A two-burner stove stood on a box, and the only other piece of furniture in the room--a battered table--rested the remains of dinner; some white, grease-soaked bags which had contained hamburgers and fried potatoes prepared by the restaurant a few blocks away."

In response to questions asked by the reporter, Little Light said her husband went out drinking every night. People in the stores laughed at her and there was no doctor for her sick child. She wanted to return to the reservation but there was not enough money to go back. The woman stared solemnly, her face became distorted. "They did not
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tell us it would be like this."

Such incidents reported in current magazine articles added to the negative public image of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Federal officials countered with defensive news releases: "As some of you know--if you have been reading your magazines lately--that word 'relocation'

seems to upset certain people--apparently because it suggests uprooting the Indians from their serene pastoral environment and plunging them down in some kind of a nerve-wracking asphalt jungle. For at least a generation, and probably longer, Indian families have been moving away from the impoverished environment of reservations and seeking better opportunities elsewhere."

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By July 12, 1956, 12,625 reservation Indians had relocated to urban areas, and another 10,000 were expected to relocate by July 1, 1957.³¹ Department of the Interior officials announced on June 27, 1956, that the Bureau of Indian Affairs was enlarging the relocation program for the forthcoming year. "Our funds for relocation assistance," the Commissioner said, "have been more than tripled from a level of \$1,016,400 available this past year to \$3,472,000. This will make it possible for us to broaden the scope and range of our relocation services along lines that we have had in mind for many months."³² Plans for opening two new offices were discussed and steps were taken to enlarge relocation guidance staffs.

A tribal council conference in Omaha, Nebraska, held July 19-21, 1956, revealed that Indians were concerned with making the relocation program successful. "In discussing relocation," stated one Indian, "we thought our people could be helped most by having a Tribal Council once or twice a week give them instructions in budgeting and explain modern household facilities and how to use them." He added, "Many of our people do not know what these things are, and have never had running water in their house and other modern conveniences."³³ The group discussed recommending a training program for Indians before they were

relocated. Another problem, that of handling money, was brought to the council's attention. "Also there is a tendency to overspend income," stated Superintendent Ben Reifel. "Some people think that the Indian gets a regular check from the Federal Government. The salesman thinks an Indian is a good subject for the installment plan," he added.

On August 3, 1956, Congress passed Public Law 959 which provided improved vocational training for adult Indians.³⁴ The law initiated a vocational training program coordinated with the Relocation Program.³⁵ Three types of general services were offered to Native Americans. These included on-the-job training, which provided an apprentice type training for Indian employees. The training lasted 24 months for each individual. Training for a vocation was the primary means for Indians to gain work experience in factories on or near the reservations. The program was designed mainly for young Native Americans, giving them vocational experience in some rudimentary skill to improve their chances of finding employment when they were relocated to an urban area.

The adult vocational training program trained Indian adults, who usually had families, in some specific occupational area such as carpentry, plumbing, and other related physical job skills. Applicants for the adult vocational training program had to be between 18 and 35 years of age. Older applicants were taken if they appeared able to take full advantage of the training and had a reasonable prospect of being employed at what they were trained to do. The applicant's past employment and school records were examined to select those best able to benefit from the adult vocational training program.³⁶

The third branch of the relocation program provided employment only. The direct employment program provided job information and

employment placement for Native Americans near reservations. It also encouraged industries to locate nearby. Usually unemployed Native Americans were relocated to urban areas where jobs were available, and program workers negotiated with employers to hire relocatees.

Preparation of Native Americans before relocating had never really been considered until after the program started. The physical appearance of Native Americans going on relocation was important as relocatees interviewed for jobs and tried to find housing. A report of Navajo placement activities from the area director at Gallup, New Mexico to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for November 16, 1956, brought this
37
to attention. The director stated that relocated Navajos wore threadbare and torn clothes. Women and children dressed traditionally and the men wore long hair. Naturally a shabby appearance, according to white standards, caused problems when Indians looked for jobs and housing, and shopped among other Americans.

The physical appearance of relocatees was less of a problem at factories that were located in cities near reservations. To encourage Native Americans to seek vocational training and employment, the Bureau of Indian Affairs negotiated contracts with business firms to locate factories near reservations in return for government subsidies. The Bulova Watch Company was the first to locate near a reservation and hire exclusively Indian employees. Bulova built a jewel-bearing plant near the Turtle Mountain Reservation at Rolla, North Dakota, but on December 31,
38
1956, it was threatened with closing.

Bulova employed 150 Indians and news of the plant's closing invoked sharp reaction. Native American leaders as well as public officials

and Indian interest organizations contacted congressmen and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to plead retention of the plant. They claimed that its closing would have an adverse effect on the progress of the Turtle Mountain Indians and the Relocation Program. A regression of Indian livelihood would cause other Native Americans to question the objective of the Relocation Program. The closing of the plant was temporarily halted as officials concluded that the Relocation Program would be affected because other industries would be reluctant to locate near reservations.

In December, 1956, the Department of the Interior announced that \$300,000 of the Navajo tribal fund was earmarked for an industrial development program. Secretary Seaton said that the program might induce industrial plants to locate near the reservation and provide payrolls³⁹ and job opportunities for tribal members. Two manufacturing plants employing Navajos were established near the reservation. Navajo Furniture, Inc., a subsidiary of Baby Line Furniture of Los Angeles and Lear, Inc., of Santa Monica, California were expected to increase the number of Navajo employees to 100 each.

The Indian Vocational Training Act proved significant in supplying job training for Indians in nearby factories. The Indians' newly acquired work experience would prepare them for urban life if they relocated. The act authorized establishing vocational training centers near reservations and in urban areas to teach Indians trades for job placement. Several years later, vocational training centers offered courses to train Indians in 125 occupations, and accredited schools existed in⁴⁰ 26 states.

The Relocation Program concentrated mainly on vocational training and finding jobs for Native Americans. Relocation to urban areas commonly occurred because the most available employment was in cities. Finally, the impact of Public Law 959, implementing the Vocational Training Act,⁴¹ changed the name of the Relocation Program to Employment Assistance.

The Vocational Training Program caused considerable interest among Indian communities. Its free training, and not necessarily having to move to some city, led many Indians to apply. The increased number of applicants pushed up the cost of relocation. For the 1956 fiscal year, \$1,016,400 was appropriated and it cost \$196 to relocate an individual. The total budget for the Relocation Program during the 1957 fiscal year was \$3,472,000, a cost of \$347.20 per relocatee.

To encourage Indians to enroll in vocational training, Bureau officials visited tribes during council meetings to urge members to take advantage of the vocational training opportunities of the Relocation Program.⁴³

On July 24, 1957, Department of the Interior officials announced on-the-job opportunities for nearly 700 Indians. The Bureau of Indian Affairs successfully negotiated contracts with eight companies which included Whitetree's Workshop, an Indian-owned firm which manufactured souvenir items on the Cherokee Reservation in North Carolina. Saddlecraft, Inc., of Knoxville, Tennessee, intended to operate a leather goods plant at Cherokee, North Carolina, and Lear Inc., of Santa Monica, California, had already developed an electronics plant at Flagstaff, Arizona. Casa Grande Mills, also in Arizona, was a garment factory, and New Moon Homes, Inc., of Rapid City, South Dakota, made trailer homes near the Standing

Rock Reservation. Navajo Furniture Industries, Inc., had established a furniture company at Gallup, New Mexico, and Bably Manufacturing Co., Yakima, Washington, established a denim garments factory near the Yakima Reservation. However, these companies were able to absorb only a small percentage of the increasing number of Indians applying for vocational
44
training and relocation.

Federal funding increased in proportion with the number of new applicants. The large cost of the government's efforts to train and relocate Native Americans caused disagreement among federal officials. Some congressmen supported the Relocation Program while others advocated developing tribal economic resources, which would be less expensive. In a confidential letter to Commissioner Emmons on October 9, 1957, Congressman E. Y. Berry of South Dakota complained of federal spending on Indian affairs. "I think the time has come to stop this useless waste of the taxpayers' money in hiring an army of bureaucrats to do something that
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does not in any way benefit the Indian people," said Berry.

The cost of the relocation program induced skeptical congressmen and others to question the program. People, especially those unfamiliar with Indian affairs, wanted a clarification of the goals and objectives of the relocation program because they were concerned that the program was getting out of control. Terminationists who wanted the government to get out of the "Indian Business," saw the Bureau of Indian Affairs expanding and costing an ever increasing amount.

A report on "The Program of Relocation Services" for October 28, 1957, reiterated the purpose of relocation. "The Relocation Services are designed to help people help themselves. It deals with men and women

who do not want to be dependent on the Federal Government, but who are eager to find their place in the free-enterprise systems and to provide security for themselves and their children. As the Program of Relocation Services progresses, the citizen of Indian ancestry is becoming a component part of the urban community scene."⁴⁶

The relocation program reinforced the termination policy to a large degree. In dispersing federal responsibilities, provided in Public Law 280 for the states to assume supervision of services to Native Americans, state agencies began to direct relocation services. Homer B. Jenkins, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, sent a memorandum to the area directors at Portland, Phoenix, Minneapolis, and Muskogee, and field relocation officers at St. Louis, Oakland, and Chicago informing them that "Applicants from terminal groups desiring vocational training should receive training from contract sources available through the state."⁴⁷

An article in Time criticized the two-fold federal policy of "getting out of the Indian business," and it claimed that "Most of the Indians were afraid that the withdrawal and relocation programs would somehow foreshadow the end of tribal culture (and, some said, permit the white man to grab Indian lands)."⁴⁸ Relocation like termination divided Native Americans. Many feared relocation would deculturalize them and reduce their properties.

Indian veterans of World War II and the Korean War had much better chances at succeeding in relocation to urban areas than reservation-bound tribesmen who had never left their rural communities.⁴⁹ The veterans' experiences in the outside world and accumulated knowledge of

white American ways and values accounted for this advantage. In early December, 1957, a relocation specialist related the difficulty of relocation to the area director at the Phoenix Area Office in a memorandum.

"Relocation is not easy. It calls for real stamina and vigor--adaptability and strength of character." He added that the Papago Indians possessed such characteristics in that since 1952, 566 Papagoes had relocated to
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urban areas.

In summarizing Indian affairs during 1957 the Department of the Interior reported that 132,000 Indian children were in schools of all types throughout the country. Nearly 7,000 Native Americans received assistance in 1957 under the Bureau's relocation services program in finding jobs and establishing homes away from reservations. Income to Indians from oil, gas, and other minerals leased off of reservation lands nearly doubled during the year. Approximately \$41 million was received
51
in 1956, and over \$75 million was received for 1957.

Expenditures for the relocation program in 1957 amounted to \$3.5 million, more than twice the sum appropriated for that purpose in
52
the previous fiscal year. From the close of World War II to the end of 1957, approximately 100,000 Indians had left reservations, about three-
53
fourths did so without government assistance. Unexpectedly the impact of the Second World War and the Korean War initiated voluntary Indian urbanization.

The most intensive relocation occurred between 1952 and 1957.
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Services were provided to over 17,000 persons, and 12,625 were relocated,
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many with families. The average cost per relocatee was \$403. The
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Chicago Field Relocation Office reported for February and March, 1957,

that the average male relocatee earned \$1.60 an hour, or about \$66 a week
 57
 for a 40-hour week. To provide services to Native Americans, a total
 58
 of 12 relocation offices functioned across the country.

Despite the progress of relocation, the economic recession of
 1956-57 slowed the advance of relocated Native Americans in that finding
 jobs for relocatees became very difficult, and those relocated and placed
 59
 at jobs were the first to be laid off for their lack of job experience.
 In addition many Indians of terminated trust status sold lands at depressed
 prices assuring a return to poverty.

As of April 1, 1958, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had a surplus
 of applications for relocation. An estimated 3,000 persons waited to be
 60
 relocated. Unfortunately many potential relocatees did not anticipate
 the difficulties that they would encounter. On October 24, 1958, Louis
 Cioffi, a missionary, wrote to President Eisenhower describing the relo-
 cation program from his point of view. "Under this program, as you know,
 Indians are urged away from their reservations, given jobs, which soon
 comes to an end. As you may not know, many have returned to the reserva-
 tion, discouraged 'and worse off than before.' Successful relocation
 61
 achieved by the government has been very small indeed."

Government figures varied in reports on the number of relocatees
 who returned to reservations and rural home communities. The Bureau of
 Indian Affairs maintained that from 1953 to 1957 three out of ten relocatees
 62
 returned. Within the first three months approximately one-half relocated
 63
 clients returned home. B.I.A. sources claimed that 71.4 percent remained
 in their urban environment, while critics charged that the percentage of
 64
 returnees was 75 percent. Such diversification in figures substantiated

the degree of controversy over the positive and negative aspects of relocation. Yet, accurate figures were manipulatory according to standards set to favor or disfavor the "return rate."

Many Native Americans dropped out of vocational training programs. The dropout rate for trainees in the nurses aide program was 21 percent, for sawmill workers 50 percent, and 54 percent for makers of Indian artifacts. About 62 percent of the furniture workers dropped out. Specialized occupations of diamond processing, wig making, and other women fashion items had the highest dropout rates because of the monotony
65
of the work.

The reasons for Indians dropping out of vocational training programs and returning to reservations were numerous. Frequently relocatees were placed in seasonal railroad and agricultural work, the poorest and most insecure jobs.
66
Relocatees became suspicious of government officials ostensibly finding jobs for them. Failure of B.I.A. officials and Indian community center workers to coordinate placement of Native
67
Americans resulted in failure of relocation in urban areas. Unfortunately low wages and insecure jobs forced Indians to live in poor housing areas in cities. In Los Angeles, Indian families were placed in slum
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dwellings and motor courts. As more Indian families moved in these areas, "Red Ghettoes" were created. Frustration and discouragement compounded homesickness, and many left the cities.

Other relocatees chose to return because they missed the "open country" of the reservations. Some left jobs that paid well to return home. In some instances, if a family member died in an apartment, the other members of the family did not want to stay. One relocatee had a

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bad dream and decided to go back to the reservation. Many relocatees chose urban areas near their reservations so they could easily return to

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their home and relatives. Others were overwhelmed by urbanized habits such as buying on credit. Trying to make installment payments forced

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many relocatees into bankruptcy. Disillusionment over failure to achieve the promised better life in urban areas broke many reservation Indians.

So many of them found survival in the cities too difficult. Racism was a serious problem because Indians were socially isolated and many employers and renters were prejudice toward Indians.

A social services director of the Minneapolis Native American Center wrote, "But I think everybody who comes to the city has a dream-- a dream of making it, a dream about improving their lives. But then prejudice slaps them right in the face and they're worse off. Call it culture shock. When your bubble is burst, there's nothing left but to go

72

back home and start dreaming again."

After failing to adjust to urban life and returning to the reservation, the relocatees at least had the potential for earning a better

73

living. Many chose to try relocation a second and third time, selecting a different city each time. In some cases Indians took advantage of the relocation program and went to a different city for a couple of months as an adventurous vacation. Upon returning they told friends of their good times in Dallas, Los Angeles, or Chicago.

A "Report on the Labor Force and the Employment Conditions of the Oneida Indians" confirmed Indian difficulties in relocation. "As to discrimination in hiring, several of the Indians, themselves, said that there had been discrimination," however, part of this was due to "a more

careful screening of them . . . due to the higher rate of absenteeism⁷⁴ that they have experienced with the Indians."

In certain cases applicants for relocation were rejected. Records of drunkenness, arrests, marital problems, poor health, or other problems⁷⁵ disqualified Indians for relocation. Upon resolving these problems, Native Americans could be considered for relocation. Sometimes relocation officers were criticized for disqualifying certain applicants and charges of prejudice were voiced.

Frequently, charges of poor administration of the relocation program were valid. Most relocation officers were non-Indians who lacked understanding of Native American cultures, thus preventing them from doing their jobs properly. Many were Westerners who had served in the War Relocation Authority that displaced Japanese Americans.⁷⁶ In addition some offices lacked sufficient staffs. Officials placed Indian families in slum housing, in Black neighborhoods, and occasionally in middle-class⁷⁷ districts which relocatees could not afford.

The faulty administrators of the relocation program caused public censure. "We are going to pay the debt owed to the Indian, a debt born and of broken treaties, harsh treatment, and 'Indian-business' such as the morale-breaking relocation program," wrote Louis Cioffi in a second⁷⁸ letter to President Eisenhower. Another concerned citizen denounced the Relocation Program. "Mr. Emmons is optimistic about the success of his Indian Voluntary Relocation Service. I have known many Indians who have been sold this bill of goods, only to write home begging for their families who were 'provided housing' that consisted of condemned quarters where negroes were moved out and where the mothers had to stay awake nights⁷⁹ and fight off the rats to keep them from biting their children."

However, not all the difficulties that Indians experienced were the fault of relocation officials. In November, 1959, the Superintendent at the Fort Apache Indian Agency in Arizona wrote F. M. Haverland, the Area Director, that the low educational level of White Mountain Apache applicants disqualified them for relocation. Many of the Indians also had no useable skill for immediate employment. John C. Dibbern, the Superintendent stated that "When this type of applicant is sent to a relocation center his chance of success is very small and we feel that it would be a disservice to the applicant if he were sent to a metropolitan area on relocation when we feel sure they could not succeed." ⁸⁰ He recommended vocational training for the White Mountain Apaches in skilled and semiskilled trades, but their lack of education would hinder complete potential success in adjusting to urban lifestyle. Fortunately a vocational training agreement was negotiated with Southwest Lumber Mills, Inc., to assist the Indians, and a local radio station agreed to publicize the relocation and adult vocational training programs.

In a later report to Haverland on November 17, 1959, Dibbern reported the evaluation of the relocation program for the tribes of the Colorado River Agency. Dibbern pointed out additional factors hindering successful relocation. "We are certain of one factor and that is the individual's concept of an acceptable standard of living. Another factor is the Indian's attitude toward special services and the certain amount of security offered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs." He continued, "Our relocation records reveal that the Indians who seek a better standard of living have a better education and have had some off-reservation living experience and possess the ability to adjust to new surroundings." ⁸¹

Dibbern listed several problem areas that hindered Indians under his jurisdiction in relocation. He observed that drinking of intoxicating liquors was common among unemployed and unoccupied persons. But numerous individuals, who took advantage of relocation services and became gainfully employed, discontinued drinking. Another problem area was "illegitimate children and unmarried mothers" in which the unmarried women were difficult, if not impossible, to place at jobs. Additional difficulty involved nursery care for their children. "Large families" proved troublesome--finding a job for the head of the family that paid well enough to support the entire family and locating housing for families of six or more proved challenging. "Obesity" was another problem. Obese relocatees frequently were not hired which was the case for many Indians of the Colorado River Indian Agency.

In a memorandum dated November 25, 1959, to Emmons, Dr. Sophie E. Aberle wrote of the "Weak or wrong policies held by B.I.A." which attributed to the difficulties experienced in the relocation program. Aberle reported, "because of the large number of Indians who return to the reservations after being relocated, there is probably a need for better screening and better training of applicants who are accepted." ⁸² Perhaps relocation workers were too hasty in processing relocatees to meet quotas to prove the program successful. Aberle concluded, "the present program is self-defeating because of the inconsistency of policy. In any event, the present program on relocation is no 'solution' of the 'Indian problem' because of the high expense involved in relocating people, and the large number who return to the reservations."

Dr. Aberle expressed humanitarian concern for Native Americans as casualties of federal policy, but her view received little attention

among federal officials. The Indians' eagerness to apply for relocation focused more attention on the objectives of the relocation program, and every effort was made to make it appear successful. Articles in the Phoenix Republic and the Phoenix Gazette on February 29, 1960, reported that Commissioner Emmons had pronounced the relocation program successful. "About 70 per cent of the 31,259 Indians who left their reservations for Western and Midwestern cities since 1952 have become self-supporting,"⁸³ stated the Commissioner. "The highest rate of successful Indian relocations," he added, was "76 percent in 1955. The lowest was 61 percent in 1958." Emmons reported that a four-man Navajo committee surveyed relocated Navajos, the largest Indian tribe in the United States, to determine the success of the relocation program. Hoska Cronemyer, Chairman of the committee stated, "Any program of this size is bound to cause some difficulties. But we resent individuals and organizations taking advantage of these difficulties and exploiting the victims to fight the Indian Affairs Bureau and the whole relocation program for their purposes or for publicity."⁸⁴

Bureau of Indian Affairs officials regularly responded to critics of relocation and termination. On February 29, 1960, Assistant Indian Commissioner Thomas Reid spoke to delegates of the Province of the Midwest of the Episcopal Church at Cincinnati. Reid emphasized that the majority of reservation tribes were becoming poorer each year and that their populations were increasing and depleting the reservation resources for supporting the people. "In order to help the Indians in breaking out of this vicious cycle of poverty, paternalism, and despair, we in the Bureau of Indian Affairs are taking a number of constructive steps," stated Reid.

"We have organized basic programs of Vocational Training and employment assistance for those Indians who want to leave the reservations and establish new homes in ordinary American communities." ⁸⁵

The Assistant Commissioner stated, "Relocation Services staff are assigned to 45 Agencies, 9 Area Offices, including Alaska, and 9 Field Relocation Offices." Most significant was assistance offered through the Adult Vocational Training Program. "Comprehensive training opportunities have been developed. At present there are 346 courses approved at 130 different institutions," said Reid. Some of the popular courses that Indians were interested in were auto mechanics, welding, cosmetology, and radio and television repair. Others included stenography, typing, and auto body repair.

Assistant Commissioner Reid's optimism exemplified the attitude of B.I.A. officials in supervising relocation. Whereas termination remained more controversial, relocating Native Americans seemed to be the key to dissolving federal supervision as trustee of Indian relations and enabling Indians to learn to adjust to urban life like other Americans. They pointed out that American society had become mobile and urbanized after World War II, and the relocation program rendered equal opportunity for Indians.

During the early 1960s federal officials attempted to make relocation more attractive to Indian youth. Relocation Assistant Erwin D. Ridley reported on December 19, 1960, that Indian students had visited his office in Nevada and had inquired about relocation services. "Some made application and others wanted information and time to make up their minds as to what they wanted to do," wrote Ridley. ⁸⁶ High school

graduates were interested in gaining some kind of training for a skill needed in urban areas. This initiative began a trend among educated Indian youths to pursue livelihoods in urban areas.

On March 29, 1961, Senator Anderson submitted Senate Bill 200⁸⁷ in the 87th Congress to amend the Adult Vocational Training Act. The amendment sought to increase federal appropriations for the relocation program. The Indian vocational training program had been in operation for about five years and it had been limitedly successful in equipping Native Americans, particularly those between ages 18 and 35, with salable work skills. In 1955 the average cost per relocation was \$450. In 1960,⁸⁸ the average cost was \$750, indicating a need for more funding.

Government officials intensified efforts to locate jobs for Native Americans. In Cleveland, Ohio, for instance, 4,000 manufacturing plants employed 300,000 workers; 18,000 retail establishments employed over 100,000 workers; and some 3,000 wholesale trade establishments⁸⁹ employed over 45,000.

Finding jobs for relocatees without skills was most difficult. An Annual Report on the Papago Agency for July 31, 1961, revealed that⁹⁰ 90 percent of its population had no recognized skill. A memorandum from the Assistant Commissioner of Community Services in the B.I.A. to all area directors and agency officers for August 16, 1961, recorded⁹¹ additional problems in finding jobs for relocatees." The Field Relocation Office in Chicago reported that relocatees who understood and spoke little English had more difficulty in finding jobs, but once hired they proved dependable.

The Dallas Relocation Office reported that the region had gone through another economic recession, and Indians had been laid off. For

the fiscal year 1962, 282 units were relocated and 78 received vocational training. The Oakland, California office reported a continuous flow of young, immature, low-educated, and unskilled relocatees. Many were high school dropouts, and the youths could not hold steady jobs.

The Department of the Interior's Annual Report for 1962 announced that the name of the Relocation Program was changed to "Employment Assistance." The report stated, "The new title was considered more descriptive of the many facets of individualized economic, and social services provided under the program." In addition the program provided a wider spectrum of services to Native Americans. The new Area Redevelopment Act also applied to Indians. It provided training to the unemployed and underemployed through a coordinated effort by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Departments of Health, Education and Welfare, Commerce, and Labor.

Overall for the 1962 fiscal year, 5,341 workers were relocated; including family members brought the total to 12,005. The large number of American Indians applying for employment assistance led Interior Department officials to seek another amendment to the Adult Indian Vocational Training Act. Assistant Secretary John A. Carver, Jr., wrote to Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, on June 24, 1963, about a proposed amendment to substitute \$12 million for the present \$7.5 million limitation. "As of the end of November 1962, there were 1,283 individuals in training throughout the country," explained Secretary Carver. "There were 346 applicants waiting on registers at the various training destinations and 624 applications were in process at the reservation level." The proposal eventually was approved.

Since World War II Native Americans and other Americans underwent an overall economic adjustment of urbanization. Dependence on land

for employment became less important as industries became the mainstay of the nation's economy. Mechanization replaced physical labor enabling industrialization in urban areas to develop at a rapid pace. While industries thrived, increasing technology called for more qualified workers. Schools, colleges, and universities supplied the teaching for a society of workers who became increasingly specialized at their occupations. The relocation program offered Native Americans opportunity to share in this, some for employment near reservations but mainly in urban areas.⁹⁵

One of the objectives of the relocation program was desegregation of the rural Indian population. Federal officials hoped that relocating Indians in large cities would insinuate them into the dominate culture.⁹⁶ Instead "Red Ghettoes" or Indian slum areas were created.⁹⁷ Chicago's Uptown is indicative of this. The slum areas produced feelings of isolation, loneliness, and estrangement for Native Americans. Many resorted to alcohol to escape the competitive and social coldness of metropolitan areas. Marital and delinquency problems became acute; broken marriages, Indian children dropping out of school, and participation in city crime became common. Many relocatees became so discouraged with city life and so severely depressed that they committed suicide. Strange as it may seem, a people who traditionally cherished life could not redeem broken spirits. Many would not return home to reservations because of self-pride and a sense of failure even though relatives beckoned them to return.

A remedy for the Indian malaise in the cities was the establishment of Indian centers. St. Augustine in Chicago's Uptown, for instance,

provides counseling, shelter, and other assistance to urban Indians. These centers provide socialization for Native Americans who are traditionally a communal people. Communication has dissolved tribal barriers of distinct Indian groups who had never associated with each other before. In essence, Native Americans in urban areas increasingly have identified themselves as Indians rather than by tribal designation.

Socialization of urban Indians contradicted the federal objective of separating Native Americans from their past and cultures to become part of the mainstream. Instead, the communal tradition of Indians on reservations has shifted to urban areas. Powwows, dances, Indian bowling teams, Indian softball teams, and other related activities has intensified the survival of Indians as an identifiable ethnic group in the large cities.

Those Indians who stayed on reservations in the 1950s and early 1960s experienced economic difficulty, although their living conditions have improved since 1945. Many of the reservation tribes' educated people migrated to urban areas via relocation or on their own efforts. This resulted in less efficient leadership among reservation tribes. Those tribal members who could probably have provided a more effective leadership rarely return to the reservations to help their people.

The majority of Indians removed to urban areas suffered socially, economically, and psychologically. Urban Indians ironically have traded rural poverty on reservations for urban slums. Their survival in urban areas however produced hope and a brighter future for their offspring. Many Indian youths growing up in an urban environment often become teachers, lawyers, doctors, and other professionals. Success in the white world,

however, cost them their native culture. Today Indians continue to experience difficulties in substituting traditional values for white American materialism and competition.

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48 "Ruffled Feathers," Time, (November 11, 1957), p. 28.

49 Edith R. Mirrieles, "The Cloud of Mistrust," The Atlantic Monthly, (February 1957), Vol. 199: 55-59.

50 Memorandum, Relocation Specialist to Area Director at Phoenix Area Office, December 3, 1957, Box 3, Acc. No. 66-A-194, Record Group 75, FRC, Denver, Colorado.

51 "Additional Progress in Indian Education and Economical Opportunity Reported for Fiscal 1957," January 31, 1957, News Release by the Department of the Interior, Box 12, Fred Seaton Papers, Eisenhower Library.

52 William Zimmerman, Jr., "The Role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, (May 1957), Vol. 311: 39.

53 Neils, "Reservation to City," p. 109.

54 Forbes, Indian in America's Past, p. 122.

55 William Kelly, "The Basis of Indian Life," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, (May 1957), Vol. 311: 79.

56 Relocations and related Costs, Fiscal Years 1952-1957

Fiscal Year	Number of Relocatees	Total Dollars	Cost Per Person
1952	868	\$576,413	\$664
1953	1,470	566,093	385
1954	2,553	579,431	227
1955	3,459	690,525	200
1956	5,119	973,475	190

1957	<u>6,964</u>	<u>2,806,687</u>	<u>403</u>
Totals	20,433	\$6,192,624	\$303

Report "Administration of Withdrawal Activities," March, 1958, by the Comptroller General, Official File of White House Central Files, Eisenhower Library.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 30.

⁵⁸"Indian Reservations May Some Day Run Out of Indians," Saturday Evening Post, (November 23, 1957), Vol. 230: 10.

⁵⁹"Indians Lift on Own Bootstraps," The Christian Century, (March 26, 1957), Vol. 75: 366.

⁶⁰See footnote 56.

⁶¹Louis Cioffi to Dwight Eisenhower, October 24, 1958, Box 754, President's Personal File, Eisenhower Library.

⁶²Sorkin, American Indians and Federal Aid, p. 121 and Joan Ablon, "American Indian Relocation: Problems of Dependency and Management in the City," Phylon, (Winter 1965), Vol. 26: 365-66.

⁶³Neils, "Reservation to City," p. 90.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 59.

⁶⁵Sorkin, American Indians and Federal Aid, p. 125.

⁶⁶Wilkinson and Briggs, "Evolution of Termination," American Indian Law Review, p. 162.

⁶⁷Madigan, "Relocation Program," p. 15.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 12.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 17.

⁷⁰Palmer, "Bureau Employment Assistance Program," p. 104.

⁷¹U. S. Congress, Senate, discussion on the success of the Relocation Program, 85th Cong., 1st sess., 14 March 1957, Congressional Record 103: 3643.

⁷²Howell Raines, "American Indians: Struggling for Power and Identity," New York Times Magazine, 1979, p. 28.

⁷³Madigan, "Relocation Program," p. 14.

⁷⁴Douglas Thorson, Report on the Labor Force and the Employment Conditions of the Oneida Indians, October, 1958, Box 3, Acc. No. 73-A-489, Record Group 75, FRC, Chicago, Illinois.

⁷⁵See footnote 56, p. 26.

⁷⁶Madigan, "Relocation Program," p. 9.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 8.

⁷⁸Louis Cioffi to Dwight Eisenhower, December 17, 1958, Box 754, President's Personal File, Eisenhower Library.

⁷⁹Del Barton to Sarah McClendon, March 23, 1959, Box 4, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

⁸⁰Superintendent of Fort Apache Indian Agency to F. M. Haverland, November 9, 1959, Box 5, Acc. No. 35335, Record Group 75, FRC, Denver, Colorado.

⁸¹John C. Dibbern to F. M. Haverland, November 17, 1959, Ibid.

⁸²Sophie D. Aberle to Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners of Indian Bureau and Dr. Virgil K. Whitaker, November 25, 1959, Box 31, William Brophy Papers, Truman Library.

⁸³"Emmons Claims Indian Relocation Big Success," Phoenix Republic and "Relocation of Indians Proclaimed Success," Phoenix Gazette, February 28, 1960.

⁸⁴"Emmons Cites Evidence of Indian Success in Relocation," February 29, 1960, News Release by the Department of the Interior, Box 4, Acc. No. 66-A-194, Record Group 75, FRC, Denver, Colorado.

⁸⁵Speech delivered by Assistant Commissioner Thomas M. Reid at a meeting of the delegates of the Province of the Midwest of the Episcopal Church, February 29, 1960, Cincinnati, Ohio, Box 4, Acc. No. 66-A-194, Record Group 75, FRC, Denver, Colorado.

⁸⁶Erwin D. Ridley to Burton A. Ladd, December 19, 1960, Box 2, Acc. No. 69-A-49, Record Group 75, FRC, Denver, Colorado.

⁸⁷U. S., Congress, Senate, Report of Amending "An Act Relative to Employment for Certain Adult Indians on or near Indian Reservations," S. Doc. 134, 87th Cong., 1st sess., 1956.

⁸⁸Neils, "Reservation to City," p. 91.

⁸⁹Field Office Report, January 27, 1961, Cleveland, Ohio, Box 1, Acc. No. 69-A-49, Record Group 75, FRC, Denver, Colorado.

⁹⁰Fiscal Year Annual Report on Papago Agency for Relocation Services, 1961, Box 2, Acc. No. 69-A-49, Record Group 75, FRC, Denver, Colorado.

⁹¹Assistant Commissioner of Community Services to all Area Directors and all Agency Relocation Officers, August 16, 1961, Box 2, Acc. No. 69-A-49, Record Group 75, FRC, Denver, Colorado.

⁹²Superintendent of Colorado River Agency to Area Director at Phoenix, Arizona, June 29, 1962, Box 3, Acc. No. 69-A-49, Record Group 75, FRC, Denver, Colorado.

⁹³Annual Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1962, Box 2, Acc. No. 67-A-1006, FRC, Kansas City, Missouri.

⁹⁴John A. Carver, Jr., to Lyndon B. Johnson, June 24, 1963, Ibid.

⁹⁵William Metzler, "Relocation of the Displaced Worker," Human Organization, (Summer 1963), Vol. 22: 142-45.

⁹⁶Neils, "Reservation to City," pp. 54-55.

⁹⁷A report on "Chicago Indians: The Effects of Urban Migration," by Prafulla Neog, Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins, January, 1970, compiled in conjunction with the Training Center for Community Programs in coordination with the Office of Community Programs Center for Urban and Regional Affairs.

⁹⁸Timothy G. Baugh, "Urban Migration and Rural Responses: The Relocation Program Among the Kiowa, Comanche and Plains Apache, 1950-1973," Presented to the 37th Plains Conference, Kansas City, Missouri, November, 1979.

CHAPTER VI

PRELUDE TO RED POWER AND AIM ACTIVITIES, 1960-1963

The 1960 presidential election year marked a new era in federal-Indian relations. Both political parties optimistically pledged "full development of Indian human and natural resources and advancement of health, education, and economic well being."¹ As an effort to clarify and specify the Republican and Democratic stands on Indian affairs, Oliver La Farge of the Association on American Indian Affairs invited Vice-President Richard M. Nixon of the Republican Party and Senator John F. Kennedy of the Democratic Party to present their views.

Nixon contradicted recent Republican policies with his proposal. "For the future we pledge that the constructive Indian programs of the past eight years will be continued, expanded and intensified," Nixon stated. In essence Nixon supported termination and wanted federal Indian policy clarified. "I personally believe that it would be wholly unwise and unjustifiable," he stated, "for the Federal government to terminate its special relationships with any Indian tribal group unless such a plan is fully understood and accepted by the group that would be affected." He added, "In addition, I want to emphasize here my deep and abiding respect for the values of Indian culture and for the undeniable right of Indian people to preserve their traditional heritage."²

Kennedy criticized the Republican policy and the Eisenhower administration on Indian affairs: "My Administration, . . . would make a sharp break with the politics of the Republican party. I am sure Indians know that in 1953 and 1954 a Republican Administration and a Republican Congress joined in . . . a termination program. That headlong drive to break faith with our first Americans was fortunately slowed down when the Democratic Party regained control of Congress in 1955."

To assist Native Americans, Kennedy pledged a vigorous program for development of Indian communities. He emphasized that the Area Redevelopment Program included reservations. Jobs for Indians would be available. Ample credit assistance would be provided through expansion of the Indian Revolving Credit Fund. Federal Housing Program benefits would be available to Indians. Vocational training, improvements in health and technical assistance would be provided as recommended in an Indian Point 4 program, and a college scholarship program would be started. Lastly, Kennedy pledged cooperation with Indians. He promised action. "The program to which my party has pledged itself will be a program of deeds, not merely of words. We will not rest after fine
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policy pronouncements."

As Native Americans entered the 1960s they needed assistance. The termination program of the 1950s had not remedied the economic malaise on reservations. The Denver Post reported that Indians at Rosebud and Pine Ridge, South Dakota, experienced economic hardship. The Oglala Sioux at Pine Ridge numbered 12,300 and the average monthly income was less than \$100 per family, and most of that came from public assistance. To alleviate economic ills the tribal leaders hoped to start a program

to attract tourists. The Indians planned to build a trading post, a teepee village to entertain visitors with ceremonial dances, and restaurants and motels; possibly a museum would be added later.⁴

The economic problems of the Sioux at Rosebud and Pine Ridge typified those of the majority of tribes in 1960. Graham Holmes, Superintendent of the Rosebud Reservation explained that an attitude of resignation dominated many Sioux. The Uwipi medicine men told the people that white transgressors would destroy themselves by some act of folly and they believed them.⁵ Many Sioux participated in the peyote rites of the Native American Church. Others turned to alcohol to escape social and economic pressures.⁶ Socio-economic ills overwhelmed many reservation Indians.

As indicated those who moved to cities faced the same problems but in a different environment. Urbanization and living in slums pressured many Native Americans to turn to alcohol. In Rapid City, South Dakota, Sioux migrants established an Indian population of nearly 6,000.⁷ About 75 percent of the drunks arrested and jailed were Indians. One detective captain stated the legalization of alcohol for Indians compounded the problem.⁸ Poverty rows of slum dwellings evolved. Young unmarried Indian mothers often were forced into prostitution to support themselves and their children. Such exploitation of Indian women contradicted traditional tribal values which stressed virtue.

Termination added to the problems of urbanized Native Americans because many lacked the ability to handle their affairs. In one instance, a Montana Blackfeet member squandered \$40,000 in a few months after selling land and moving to a city. He returned with his family to the

reservation begging tribal assistance. In another incident, a Blackfeet quickly spent \$80,000 gained from the sale of his land. These unusual cases typified the impact of termination of trust status of Indian properties and urbanization. From 1948 to 1957, 3,307,217 acres were removed from individual Indian trust status. The attitude of the B.I.A. was simply "We haven't been able to resolve the Indian problem in nearly 100 years of stewardship. So let the Indian take care of himself."⁹

The impact of termination of federal supervision over tribes complicated Indian affairs rather than simplifying them. In fact, the Indian Service had expanded. In 1959 the Bureau of Indian Affairs employed 11,477 workers, including 4,520 in the Bureau's Indian Health Division, making the total personnel of the B.I.A. just short of 16,000 persons, a twenty percent increase during the decade. For the 1960 fiscal year the B.I.A. was allocated \$115,467,000, plus \$50,287,000 for Indian health services.¹⁰

The time had arrived when tribes had to take over their own affairs. More Native Americans adopted the individual white American attitude to gain more education, vocational training, and to improve their economic conditions. The Indians desired functional equality with other Americans and they wanted to progress as individuals. In the old days many tribes believed that accumulation of property and individual assertion were wrong. The Sioux deemed that one who acted ideally by sharing with the unfortunate and enjoying communal life was "Wakan"--¹¹ touched by the influence of God. Devotion to tradition prevented Native Americans from becoming more self-assertive and independent like other Americans in the early 1960s, and even today.

To add to the increasingly chaotic conditions that termination and relocation caused, a large segment of the media argued that Native Americans did not have to accept termination; some writers advocated that it was unconstitutional. Among the Menominees James G. Frechette, Chairman of the Tribal Advisory Council, wrote Interior Secretary Fred Seaton in April, 1960, that newspaper and magazine articles were confusing the Menominees and this hampered the effectiveness of the council's leadership in guiding the people through termination. This especially concerned Frechette when Congressman Melvin Laird stated in a newspaper article, "It is my firm opinion that chaotic conditions would arise if termination takes place as now contemplated."¹² He was referring to the Menominees' scheduled final termination for December 31, 1960.

Some tribes took a more aggressive stand against termination upon realizing the consequences of withdrawal of federal supervision. On May 2, 1960, officials of the Sac & Fox Tribe of Tama, Iowa, wrote Superintendent E. J. Riley of the Bureau of Indian Affairs stating opposition to termination. "It is right that our Indian people have every opportunity to manage thier (sic) internal affairs themselves," stated the Indians. "We would not want to lose that right, and we would not want to be abandoned to the loss of our special tribal status either. Since we do not want to see the extermination of our tribe which would follow from the so-called 'termination' policy of the Federal Government, and yet we do not want a return to the complete Federal paternalism of the past."¹³

As the 1960 presidential election year progressed, Native Americans found themselves caught up in the campaigning. Minnesota

State Chairman Ed Viehman of the Republican State Central Committee wrote Secretary Fred Seaton of the Interior on May 11, 1960, of possible assistance to members of the Red Lake Reservation in Minnesota. The Interior Department had not approved the tribe's contract for retaining legal counsel and the tribe was requesting a replacement for the resident agent. Without approval from the Interior Department, the Indians could do nothing. They needed an agent on the reservation whose first-hand knowledge of the needs of the tribe would influence action for reform. In addition, Viehman hinted that the President of the Red Lake Tribal Council was a Republican, and that helping his tribe could gain votes for the Republicans because the Indians placed their confidence in him.¹⁴

On May 27, 1960, Frank George, a Nez Perce and member of the Nationalities Division (American Indians) of the Democratic National Committee, advocated needs of Native Americans in speaking to the Democratic Platform Committee in Denver, Colorado. George denounced the termination policy of the Eisenhower administration stating, "THE FACT REMAINS that the Indian Bureau field personnel and the Washington staff devote considerable time in planting ideas in the minds of the general public and even of tribal governing bodies that the solution to the problems of the American Indians is the termination of Federal trusteeship."¹⁵ He then suggested several reform ideas. One was a plan for each Indian group to bring about the maximum utilization of assets to assist tribal members. Annual federal appropriations to provide advisement and budgets for credit needs for capital investments were necessary for developing Indian resources. George added that the tribe or Indian group and

the United States should agree on disposition of property or actions affecting treaty rights. He surmised that a major effort should be made to retain tribal properties. As soon as possible, eligibility for hospital and medical care to Native Americans need reforming. Lastly, a progressive educational program, particularly in adult vocational training, should be established.

Indian demands of this nature for reform conditions had more effect during the late 1950s as Bureau of Indian Affairs officials consulted with Native Americans. Indian clamour for improved livelihoods began to arouse attention. Indians voiced the right to control their affairs. The Menominees were the primary Indian group striving for self-determination. The media advertised the Menominees as one of the richest Indian tribes in the United States. Incorporating the Menominees into Wisconsin would no doubt benefit the state as Menominee land would become the 72nd county. On July 30, 1959, Wisconsin Governor Gaylord Nelson signed into law a bill to make the 234,000 acre Menominee Reservation a separate county, although approval had to come from the federal government. It appeared that soon 3,500 Menominees finally would be terminated and the state of Wisconsin would begin taxing the tribe's rich timberland valued at \$40 million.

The federal government instituted termination to integrate Indians within states' citizenry and to reduce and eventually eliminate federal spending on Indians. The opposite happened, because each year during the late 1950s more federal funds were appropriated to assist American Indians primarily those in the relocation program. For example, the increasing number of applicants at the Anadarko Area Office in Oklahoma

requesting personal services and vocational training required more federal funds. Some of this increased expenditures were for salaries of workers at the Kiowa Area Field Office, including a director of social work, area child welfare worker, relocation staff, and additional social workers.¹⁷

Indians were traditionally ignored as potential voters, even after gaining U. S. citizenship in 1924, but in 1960 the presidential candidates catered to Indian voters. Many Native Americans were educated enough to realize what elected officials could do for them. The tribes confronted political candidates on policies and solutions to Indian problems rather than as had been the practice, having Indian interest organizations find out the views of the candidates.

Amerindians also began claiming that their civil rights were being violated. A memorandum from Sophie D. Aberle to Commissioner of the Civil Rights Commission on August 18, 1960, cited Indian sense of injustice. Indians on the Omaha Reservation in Nebraska claimed that the deputy for the Omaha area, who lived 27 miles away, refused to respond to calls regarding even serious crimes occurring on the reservation. The reservation, according to Public Law 280, came under the jurisdiction of the state of Nebraska. The Nebraska Indians demanded law enforcement and protection, but state officials ignored Indian complaints.¹⁸ The same situation was found in other Indian areas.

Burton J. Goodyear, Investigator of the United States Civil Rights Commission, cited that living conditions at Hill 57 in Montana were deplorable. About 100 Indians received water from one well with a 2-inch pipe and a defective hand pump. The county hospital of the Public

Health Service refused to treat or hospitalize the Indians, and the B.I.A. refused to give or pay for any services unless the Indians returned to the reservation. Goodyear recommended the state fulfill its responsibility of providing services to the Indians off the reservation. 19

Goodyear noted that Indians in the Southwest had difficulty voting in Arizona. The state invoked literacy tests for Indians to qualify to vote. The true purpose of the test revealed discrimination and deeply embedded prejudice in the state. Gallup, New Mexico, was listed as another discriminatory area. The B.I.A. was partially blamed for refusing to recommend per capita payments of tribal money unless tribes agreed to termination, a violation of Indian rights. 20 Indians claimed that these discriminatory practices had occurred for years and their protests grew louder.

The 1960 presidential election year was an ideal time for Indian protest. The Miccosukee Seminoles of Florida made one of the strongest demands. Roger Ernst reported to Interior Secretary Seaton that "the Miccosukee people under the guidance of their attorney . . . made any number of miscellaneous requests to the United States as they were considering themselves as a sovereign nation, . . . These requests include the rights to hunt and fish in the Everglades National Park along with rights to live in that area. They also made claim to the entire state of Florida." 21

In a letter dated August 30, 1960, La Verne Madigan wrote William Brophy, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, about the ideal timing of the presidential election to reform Indian conditions. "An honorable Federal Indian Policy," she wrote, "must recognize the right

of the conquered American Indians to choose without coercion between assimilation and life in cultural communities of their own people." She continued, "It must provide for loans to help the tribes preserve their land-base and technical assistance to help them make their communities economically and socially equal to the white communities that lie around them. Such a policy is outlined . . . under the heading, An American²²
Indian Point 4 Program."

One of the most vocal Indian complaints came from Robert Yellowtail, a Republican and former Superintendent of the Crow Reservation, when he wrote to Secretary Seaton on September 3, 1960. He denounced the Democrats stating, "during the 20 years of democratic rule under F.D.R. and H.S.T., and also under their Secretary Chapman and Indian Commissioner Dillon Myer the Indians were very lucky to come out with their shirts under their policy of liquidation." After blasting the Democrats, Yellowtail then stated that neither political party proposed an adequate stand on Indian affairs, but the Republican's seemed better. He hinted "the political trade winds are blowing in favor of Mr. Nixon and against Kennedy and that all Indians should let Mr. Nixon know that he is their choice for President." He added that if Nixon won, then Emmons, "who has been unsatisfactory" should be replaced as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. But not all Indians agreed with Yellowtail as many supported John Kennedy for President. Actually, many Native Americans were antagonized by the past eight years of Republican Indian²³ policy, i.e., termination.

On September 17, 1960, Emmons defended the termination policy before an Indian Law Committee of the Federal Bar Association panel

discussion held in Chicago. "We have had a great deal of controversy among Indians and their friends during the past several years centered around the topic of termination," said Emmons. "In fact, 'termination' has become a kind of scare-word to many of the Indian people--a term loaded with all sorts of emotional and frequently irrational connotations." The Commissioner then stated his reaction to the word. "Personally I have never liked the word myself and have always preferred the term 'Readjustment'.²⁴"

Commissioner Emmons stated that House Concurrent Resolution 108, the legal basis for termination, was approved only ten days before he took office as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He added, "When it came to carrying out the 108 mandate, we stressed . . . the tremendous differences that exist among the various tribes." Emmons then clarified the ambiguity of termination. He expressed concern for the protection of Indians as he did not wish the government to sell all tribal lands and distribute the proceeds among enrolled members. "I believe firmly that the members of each tribe should have full opportunity to keep their tribal lands in group ownership after the ending of federal trusteeship²⁵ if they wished to do so."

During October, 1960, the Association on American Indian Affairs Newsletter reported that Omaha Tribal Chairman Alfred W. Gilpin supported Richard Nixon for President, and that he was soliciting support from tribal members. He also iterated his view of the past Republican Indian policy. "From 1952 to 1958 the policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was to break up the Indian tribes against their will. Then, in 1958, a new Secretary of the Interior--my fellow Nebraskan, Fred A.

Seaton--made a good new policy. He said that no Indian tribe would be terminated without its consent--and that the Bureau of Indian Affairs should help our Indian communities survive and develop."²⁶

As the presidential election neared, both candidates sought the Indian vote. On October 28, 1960, Senator Kennedy wrote Kiowa Tribal Chairman Robert Goombi for his support because of his influential leadership among Indian people. The Senator stated, "You are a leader among the Indian people of your tribe, I am informed, and because of this I am personally calling on you to help make the issues clear in the coming election. I believe you will agree that Indian rights have been seriously and repeatedly threatened under the Republican Administration. It is my belief that the philosophy stated in the Democratic platform, coupled with wise leadership and constructive program, is the only just policy for a democratic nation to follow towards its original inhabitants. I intend to assist the Indian tribes to secure their rights and to obtain better living conditions."²⁷

Gaining the Indian vote meant an edge in the crucial forthcoming election as neither candidate led decisively in the popular polls. The 1960 presidential election was an intense struggle and Senator Kennedy barely defeated Vice-President Nixon. Kennedy's election began a new era, "The New Frontier," which meant a new era in federal-Indian relations. The Indian version of the "New Frontier" was the "New Trail."²⁸ The President-elect promised the Indians reformed economic living conditions and consultation in working with tribes. However, for the next two months President Eisenhower continued control of Indian affairs through Commissioner Emmons.

On December 12, 1960, the Menominee Council passed a resolution to amend Public Law 399 again to set back the date of final termination to April 30, 1961. The Menominees received support from the National Congress of American Indians in their fight against termination. Irene Mack, a spokesperson for the Menominees, expressed her view of termination. She stated, "that if the Tribe was not full prepared that we should request an additional amount of time . . . because they realize as we do that the Menominee are the guinea pig of the termination experiment by the Federal Government. And as guinea pigs, I am sure that you all realize that . . . you can get hurt awfully bad and sometimes
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even die."

Mrs. Mack also expressed her view of the annual meeting of tribes at the National Congress of American Indians regarding termination. She surmised the 1960 conference was different from others because of fear of termination. "All the Indians present were more serious minded because of termination affecting so many tribes." Some tribal officials visited the Menominees in Wisconsin inquiring as to the effects during termination procedure, and how the Menominees were preparing for it.

The Menominee Council on December 13, 1960, adopted a statement of support for President-elect Kennedy and the Democratic Indian policy. The Menominees continued to resist termination and passed a resolution "that the selection of trustees shall not constitute an agreement between the Menominee Tribe and the Honorable Secretary of the Interior to terminate federal jurisdiction over the Menominee Tribe and
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the Menominee Reservation."

On December 14, 1960, the Green Bay Press-Gazette reported the names of seven selected trustees who the Menominees chose to regulate

tribal assets. The trustees included four Menominees, George W. Kenote, Patrick Grignon, George Pecore, and Hilary Waukau. The three non-Menominee trustees selected were William F. Trinke, John A. Beal, and Philleo Nash. The responsibilities of the trustees were mainly to advise the new tribal corporation, Menominee Enterprises, Inc., which included assets for 3,270 members and protected Menominee investments.³¹

On December 22, 1960, the Department of the Interior announced "Trust restrictions on allotted Indian lands, scheduled to expire in calendar year 1961, have been extended for an additional five years, . . ."³² This contradicted the termination policy of the early 1950s when the government considered prompt termination of trust status on individual Indian lands. From 1954 through 1960, a total of 61 tribes, Indian groups, communities, rancherias, or allotments were terminated by congressional legislation.³³ In 1961, 35 California rancherias, the Oklahoma Choctaws, Oregon Klamaths, Wisconsin Menominees, and the mixed-bloods of the Uintah and Ouray of Utah were listed for final termination. During the entire termination period which lasted into the early 1960s, a grand total of 109 cases of termination occurred, affecting a minimum of 1,362,155 acres and 11,466 individuals.³⁴

The close of 1960 also concluded the administration of Emmons as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. On December 23, he submitted his letter of resignation to President Eisenhower. "Almost eight years ago I was honored and profoundly grateful," stated Emmons, "when you appointed me to serve as Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in your Administration. Under your inspiring leadership and with the help of men like the late Secretary Douglas McKay and Secretary Fred A.

Seaton, I believe we have accomplished much since 1953 to help our long
neglected Indian citizenry along the road toward a better way of life." ³⁵

On January 5, 1961, Eisenhower praised Emmon's efforts. "You
have served faithfully and well during the past eight years," stated the
President, "and I wish to thank you for doing your honest best to help
the Indian achieve a better way of life." ³⁶

The first National American Indian Housing Conference was held
on January 23-24, 1961, as one of the several efforts of reforming Indian
conditions. The conference "has given many of our American Indians re-
newed hope that a feasible solution exists for upgrading their deplorable
housing conditions," said Lester H. Thomas, Acting Federal Housing Com-
missioner. ³⁷ Arrow, Inc., a concerned organization advocating Indian
improvement, invited Federal Housing Authority officials and representa-
tives of other government agencies to meet with tribal chiefs and tribal
attorneys to make a broad attack for improving the living standards of
Native Americans. The conference participants agreed that the greatest
single factor affecting the Indians in housing was lack of available
mortgage financing. Part of this resulted from Indians being unable to
qualify for mortgage credit. The conference resulted in an effort to
create a federal program to resolve the problem of sub-standard Indian
housing.

On February 2, 1961, Senator Frank Church of Utah introduced
Senate Bill 751 to amend the Indian Claims Commission Act for a third
time to extend the life of the Commission five more years. "To date,
the Commission has completed action on 128 dockets; and 28 awards,"
stated Church, "totaling more than \$37 million have been made." Senator

Church, who was also Chairman of the Sub-committee on Indian Affairs, continued to state the reasoning for introducing his bill. "We have promised the Indians their day in court; and, in all fairness to them, additional time must be provided in order to enable the Commissioner to hear and render judgement on the matters that have been presented to it. The legislation I am sponsoring would allow the Commission to continue until April 10, 1967, unless it completes its mission at an earlier date." The bill which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, was passed to extend the Commission five
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more years.

Another effort to reform Indian conditions and assist the Native American population was formation of an advisory group on Indian affairs to the Secretary of the Interior. A memorandum to the Interior Secretary on February 6, 1961, listed the possible members of the advisory group. W. W. Keeler, John O. Crow, Philleo Nash, James E. Officer, and William Zimmerman, Jr. were listed as experts on Indian affairs to provide the Secretary with the most effective advice on regu-
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lating Indian affairs. The advisory group would also recommend changes in personnel and structure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Before the year closed, the advisory group was at work.

The majority of the Native American population supported the Kennedy administration. They supported the changes in Indian Bureau personnel and reform goals that President Kennedy had advocated in his campaign. There were few objections. Robert Goombi, a Republican Kiowa, wrote the President on February 11, 1961, expressing his view of Indian affairs. "I want to state here that the present officials of the Bureau

of Indian Affairs has made life very miserable for Indians. The living conditions among our Indians are terrible, how our Indians live from day to day is beyond me. Housing is terrible, and no sanitation. The American Indian is looking for the dawn of a new day." ⁴⁰

In the past federal officials paid little heed to Indian opinion. As American Indians became more educated and more vocal in expressing complaints of oppressed conditions in the early 1960s, federal officials paid more attention. On February 20, 1961, Dr. Sol Tax, a well-known anthropologist, wrote Assistant Secretary of the Interior John A. Carver, Jr., complimenting the Kennedy administration for its stand on Indian affairs. "Surely you are right that part of our education must be in the structure of our administrative system," wrote Tax, "and I trust that we can find or put together something suitable from which Indians and innocent anthropologists alike can learn." He continued, "I also trust both the goodwill and the wisdom of your administration, and expect that you will be ingenious in finding a structural means to a viable Indian policy." ⁴¹ Tax especially credited the Department of the Interior for considering the Indian viewpoint in supervising Indian affairs and formulating a new Indian policy.

As the new administration formed a federal Indian policy, Congressman Berry introduced House Concurrent Resolution 169 during the first session of the 87th Congress in February to define such a policy. ⁴² Berry denounced HCR 108 stating it was erroneously interpreted when tribes were too hastily terminated. His bill proposed a gradual withdrawal of federal supervision over tribes according to their ability to exist independently. Berry recommended placing the tribes into three

categories, similar to the Zimmerman Plan of 1947. The tribes would be liberated of trust status as they wished, according to their progress as independent entities and the amount of assistance they would need.

The new federal Indian policy attempted to allow Native Americans to take a large role in the supervision of their affairs. On February 23, 1961, Menominee delegates Jerome Grignon and Al Dodge wrote Secretary Stewart L. Udall of the Interior Department to state their tribe's position on its upcoming termination. The Menominees were apprehensive "since the basic industry upon which future taxes must be derived is from the timber and lumbering enterprises, now at its lowest market." The Menominees continued to oppose termination. "We cannot foresee a stable economy on the Menominee Reservation," stated the Indian delegates, "for several years which must carry the responsibilities connected with local government in the form of tax revenues."⁴³

The Menominee opposition to termination typified the general Indian attitude concerning tribal existence. Many Native Americans however advocated termination of trust status on personal properties. In the February, 1961, Association on American Indian Affairs Newsletter, Oliver La Farge stated that forming an effective Indian policy was a difficult task. He recommended that an Indian Point Four Program be instituted to reform economic conditions, but he suggested a cautious approach to avoid paternalism. "What we must offer to Indians (not thrust upon them) are encouragement, advice, technical assistance, and capital funds."⁴⁴ The instability of Indian affairs suggested a study of them before federal action was taken.

An Indian Task Force Study Commission proved to be the most significant effort of the Kennedy Administration to deal effectively

with Indian affairs. Those members selected for the Task Force were also the Advisory Group members. The primary objective of the Task Force was to visit Indian communities throughout the United States, analyze conditions, and recommend reform action to improve the status of Native Americans. One of the earliest summary reports of the Task Force for February 17, 1961, recorded Indian views of problems at Fort Berthold, North Dakota. Unemployment was the major problem. Others included Indians having land units too small for successful development. Receiving credit and loans was difficult. Indians complained that the B.I.A. took too long in acting upon matters concerning them. They denounced the termination and relocation programs as an undertaking to gain Indian lands. Fort Berthold Indians protested Public Law 280 for placing them under the civil jurisdiction of North Dakota which they charged provided incompetent services.

Another meeting of the Task Force on February 27 identified additional problems. W. W. Keeler listed them as 1) heirship of allotted lands, 2) eligibility to receive federal services, and 3) consultation with Indians. Other problems brought to the attention of the Task Force included lack of long-range congressional programs in Indian affairs, especially in education and the need for an efficient land development program. Congressman James A. Haley of Florida told Task Force members, "I don't give a damn whether Indians have ten acres or one hundred acres, what they need is an economic unit that is productive." He also did not believe that all Indians should be made farmers, if they did not want to be. The congressman concluded by saying that money received from claims settlements could be used for reservation development.

The Task Force found problems in Indian affairs enormously complicated. They met again on March 2, 1961, with Area Director Robert D. Holtz of the Minneapolis Area Office. Holtz pointed out that frequently the tribal councils in his region gave tribesmen false hopes and did literally nothing for their people. "People tend to hang around the reservations," Holtz said, "and wait for the claims settlement rather than going out and seeking employment."⁴⁷ He advised that termination of federal trusteeship over these people would free them from dependency on the federal government. Relocation was reported generally successful in the Minneapolis area with more than 60 percent of the relocatees remaining in urban areas. Concluding his report on Indians in the Minneapolis region, Holtz stressed that vocational training was beneficial for teaching Native Americans skills and determining their aptitudes for learning vocations.

A meeting of the Task Force with Leonard Hill, Area Director of the Sacramento Area Office, on March 3, 1961, revealed different conditions existed among Indians there than for those in the Minneapolis area. Hill reported that the Indians of Hoopa Valley, Round Valley, and Tule River in California had few problems. "They have been in public schools and have been forced to find work outside the reservations--they are acculturated."⁴⁸ Hill felt there was no need for the B.I.A. in his area.

On the following day the Task Force traveled to Billings, Montana, to meet with the Area Director P. E. Melis who reported a contrasting situation existed between the Flatheads and Northern Cheyennes. "Flatheads handle their business affairs in a creditable manner and are

generally acculturated (approximately 50% live off the reservation), and early termination might be of great benefit to the coming generation of this tribe, with the possible exception of one small segment near

⁴⁹ Flathead Lake." He added that the Northern Cheyennes were considerably regressed in comparison with the Flatheads. "They have resisted Bureau programs, such as the livestock program which failed chiefly because the people seem to prefer a welfare situation which leaves them free to do as they please." These Indians were isolationists and showed little incentive to improve their livelihood.

A meeting of the Task Force with Fickinger, Area Director at Muskogee, on March 4, 1961, revealed a credit program was needed in the Bureau to make loans to tribes. "In his opinion the present policy of excessive loans made to Indians which cannot be repaid . . . in reality constitutes a give-away program."⁵⁰ The director noted that employment opportunities were extremely limited. "Of the industrial (sic) concerns approached on the subject, the only ones which located here was a glove factory, but Indians were discriminated against," said Fickinger.

The Task Force went to Portland, Oregon on March 6, 1961, to meet with Area Director Don Foster. Foster recommended a non-governmental organization take over for the B.I.A. in his area. "People will accept ideas from outsiders," said Foster, "but they assume the Bureau is trying to terminate them and drag their feet when the BIA suggest something."⁵¹ Tribal leadership is weak especially among the Shoshones and the Bannocks, but the Klamaths were doing well as an example to other tribes.

Tribes continued to oppose termination. On March 10, 1961, the National Congress of American Indians sent its policy concerning

termination to the Task Force, representing the majority of Indian tribes.

It was first proposed at its annual meeting in Salt Lake City and read as followed:

It is the policy of the National Congress of American Indians to vigorously oppose termination of federal trusteeship of Indian land and property and termination of federal services to Indians, both as to legislation and administration. It shall further be the policy of the National Congress of American Indians, to the full limits of its resources, to provide assistance as early as possible to tribes for which termination legislation is proposed, in informing their members of the choice they are making and the possible consequences of their actions.⁵²

The pronouncement of the NCAI's opposition to termination was the first pan-Indian effort in reacting to termination. During this crucial period the united effort of NCAI was the largest unification of tribes compared to other pan-Indian movements in history. The NCAI's claim was that termination also produced discontent and conflict of interest among concerned non-Indians.

On March 13, 1961 Philleo Nash resigned as a member of the voting trust of Menominees because he had become a member of the Task Force and an employee of the Department of the Interior.⁵³ However, he remained concerned over Menominee welfare and kept himself informed of their conditions.

Concerned non-Indian organizations expressed opposition to termination. They stated that a new federal policy was needed, and suggested one. On March 16, 1961, the Commission of the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian released a 56-page report to the newspapers based on a four-year study. The report denounced termination stating, "Termination has been carried out in many cases without knowledge-

able consent of the Indian tribes affected." Termination brought "about disruption of the Indians' tribal and legal systems, the forced sale and wasteful exploitation of Indian lands, inequitable taxation, and abandonment by the federal government of educational, medical and road building and other services without first establishing other sources of support for such services."⁵⁴

The Commission reported that termination was inevitable and that the tribes should be ready. In this case "an objective which should undergird all Indian policy is that the Indian individual, the Indian family, and the Indian community be motivated to participate in solving their own problems. Indian-made plans should receive preferential treatment, and when workable, should be adopted." Indian participation in policy making was essential.

Senator Church introduced Senate Bill 1392 in the 87th Congress to resolve one of the perplexing Indian problems--multiple heirship of ownership of allotted lands. Church's bill authorized the Secretary of the Interior to divide Indian trust lands for the best interests of the new owners.⁵⁵ This had become an increasingly complex problem. As the original allottees died, few left wills and several relatives fell heir to the land. The new owners frequently fought over the use of the land and lease revenues. The Church bill attempted to solve the problem from a different perspective; it was a termination effort.

On April 29, 1961, the Department of the Interior announced⁵⁶ the final termination of federal trusteeship for the Menominees. Enactment of Public Law 399 discontinued trust supervision over Menominee property and ended special federal services to tribal members. For the

future, the Menominee Corporation would regulate the remaining tribal properties and assume services to members. The majority of the Menominees were reluctant to face the future without government protection.

In addition to fearing termination, Native Americans were suspicious of Public Law 280 which extended state civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indian lands. Philleo Nash, a noted authority on Indian affairs, claimed "the adoption of State civil and criminal jurisdiction is merely a step toward unilateral termination of Federal Services,"
57
enhancing Indian fears.

Termination created a dangerously uncertain existence for Indians and tribes. The foundation of termination was House Concurrent Resolution 108, approved in 1953. President Oliver La Farge of the Association on American Indian Affairs wrote Dr. Sol Tax on May 26, 1961, explaining the resolution was the governing basis for federal supervision of Indian affairs. La Farge stated that HCR 108 "is of no legal effect at the present time," and "that we should be devoting ourselves instead to the opportunity we now have to develop programs with the Indians which help
58
improve their lives."

At the end of May, 1961, the General Counsel for the Association on American Indian Affairs sent a memorandum to its board of directors, stating that Congress was making little progress in enacting legislation
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to alleviate problems of Native Americans. Interior Secretary Udall explained that he was awaiting the report of the Task Force, but the AAIA General Counsel insisted that Congress should be entertaining legislation to show Native Americans and the public its sincerity toward improving Indian welfare.

During the following months, the terminated Menominees struggled to maintain tribal assets. Termination had a negative impact on the Menominees; it produced what came to be called "termination psychosis," a pervasive feeling of anxiety and demoralization. The end of the Menominees' prolonged status as wards of the government created an identity crisis.⁶⁰ The Menominees experienced difficulty adjusting to their new role as legally non-Indians within the nearby community. To combat the termination neurosis, the Menominee mounted a communal effort by organizing DRUMS, Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Stockholders, and Lakes of the Menominees (LOM) to soften the change and aid in adjusting to the new order.

The National Fellowship of Indian workers contributed significant assistance to Native Americans in 1961. The organization to non-Indians and Indians met periodically "to stimulate creativity, to give direction and to stir imagination in thought about solutions to problems."⁶¹ Fellowship members possessed experience, knowledge, and ideas to improve the working opportunities and occupational habits of Native Americans. The organization was a part of a growing nationwide movement to assist Indians as they tried to help themselves. In a positive way these organizations attempted to direct federal officials and influence appointments of personnel assigned to the tribes.

In the spring of 1961, Secretary Udall announced that President Kennedy had appointed John O. Crow as Acting Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.⁶² Crow, a Cherokee Indian, was a 28-year veteran employee of the Indian Bureau and had served as Superintendent of several Indian agencies. President Kennedy responded favorably to the Indian

request that an Indian be appointed as Indian Commissioner, as past presidents had selected non-Indians except for Ely S. Parker, a Seneca, who served during the Grant administration.

In his annual address in May, 1961, Oliver La Farge, President of the Association on American Indian Affairs referred to the "Intense struggle" Native Americans were waging in Kennedy's "New Frontier" society. "New battlelines were drawn," he said. In theory Indians were equal to other Americans, but now Native Americans were "acting as equals." "Tribes are fighting for their assets," said La Farge, "in western Washington, where river and coastal fishing rights and timber, worth tens of millions of dollars, are under continuous, skillful, powerful attack."⁶³ There was nothing new in Indians opposing and denouncing termination and criticizing the Department of the Interior, but now they were fighting for civil rights and demanding their treaty rights.

Indians demanded action. Since the end of the Indian wars, Native Americans accepted supervision from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but during the late 1950s and the early 1960s they began to collectively demand reform legislation and restoration of federal services. La Farge emphasized that Indians felt betrayed and held animosity towards the United States government.⁶⁴

During early June, 1961, approximately 700 Indians representing 64 tribes across the nation met at the University of Chicago to discuss a unified Indian approach to developing solutions to their problems. Sol Tax, a professor of anthropology at the university, directed the eight-day conference. Delegates drafted a lengthy paper called the Declaration of Indian Purpose which presented their views on policy.

The Declaration asked for a reversal of the government's ten year-old termination policy, for a broadened education program, and for abolition of ten B.I.A. area offices whose authority would be transferred to reservation superintendents.⁶⁵

In summary, the Indian participants at the Chicago conference were vocal and explicit in demanding reform and independence. "What we ask of America is not charity, not paternalism, even when benevolent. We ask only that the nature of our situation be recognized and made the basis of policy and action."⁶⁶

The American Indian Chicago Conference received considerable publicity. Business Week reported that the conference "was a very serious meeting for people with serious problems."⁶⁷ The pan-Indian effort at Chicago was recognized as the beginning of the Red Power Movement-- unquestionably an Indian reaction to the termination policy of the 1950s.

On July 12, 1961, Interior Secretary Udall released a report of the Task Force, a 77-page survey of Indian affairs, including recommendations for new policy guidelines.⁶⁸ The Task Force members had traveled an estimated 15,000 miles over a period of 15 days. Over 200 tribal representatives were interviewed with about 100 other witnesses. Personal contact was made with approximately 2,000 Indians at hearings in seven locations.⁶⁹ While the report did not mention the Indian Point Four Program, it did enhance Red Power enthusiasm for reforming conditions among Indians. With the Task Force work completed the Kennedy administration and Congress had fresh information on Native American problems.

Kennedy's naming of Dr. Philleo Nash as Commissioner of Indian Affairs was seen as a positive step for Indians. Nash, from Wisconsin,

had a long friendship with the Menominees. He had earned a doctorate in anthropology and had served as lieutenant-governor of Wisconsin. His experience in Indian affairs included services as trustee for the Menominee Enterprise Corporation and a member of the Task Force to study Indian affairs in 1961. He committed his agency to assist Indians but not in the traditional paternalistic manner. Much of the 500,000 Indian population was still under federal supervision and Indians regarded Nash as a friend and advocate.

In developing Indian policy, federal officials had no less than three major recent studies of Indian affairs to refer to: findings of the American Indian Chicago Conference, the Task Force Commission Report, and the Commission of the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indians. A democratic Congress reflecting the "New Frontier" spirit moved to reform oppressed Indian conditions. On August 8, 1961, Senator Anderson introduced two bills, House Resolutions 5144 and 5165, for the general rehabilitation of those Indians affected by the construction of the Big Bend Dam and Reservoir on the Missouri. The bills proposed to compensate the Indians of the Crow Creek Sioux Reservation and the Lower Brule Sioux Reservation in South Dakota for lands lost as a result of construction.

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The reform spirit was encouraging to other Indian groups such as the Alabama-Coushattas who were terminated when Public Law 280 placed their reservation under the jurisdiction of the state of Texas. The members of the joint tribe emphasized the importance of education to their children as they sought to assimilate in the local white communities.

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Senator Church, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, was influential in policy making regarding Indian matters. During 1961 he addressed the National Congress of American Indians on "The Indian Program on the New Frontier." He stressed that the responsibility of Indian affairs fell to three elements: Indian leadership,
 72
 Congress, and the Administration. Through collaborative effort, Senator Church surmised that effective Indian policy and better handling of Indian affairs would result.

While addressing the same NCAI Convention, Commissioner Nash predicted better times. "Few Secretaries of the Interior since Harold Ickes have taken the keen personal interest in Indian affairs that Secretary Udall does," said Nash. "Under his leadership and direction we are going to have one of the truly great periods of Indian advance-
 73
 ment."

On October 16, 1961, Nash addressed a Conference of Superintendents at Denver, Colorado, on the objectives and course of federal policy. "The basis for the Bureau's objectives in the course of the next few years will be the Report of the Task Force on Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior," stated Nash. "The Task Force report is consistent with the declaration on Indian affairs of President Kennedy when he went before the American people a year ago." As to specifically helping Native Americans, Nash stated, "With respect . . . self-sufficiency, the Task Force proposed enlarged programs of economic development. Viewing the reservations and the Indian communities near them as underdeveloped areas, the Task Force recommended that the Bureau apply to these areas the same programs of resource development, improved

credit, industrial development and vocational training and placement
⁷⁴
 that proved helpful."

Nash invited Walter Wetzel, President of the National Congress of American Indians, to speak at the Denver Conference. The invitation was somewhat unusual because Indian leaders were not normally asked to address meetings that would set the course of federal Indian policy. "I suggest today a New Perception--that of concentrating on the development of Indian natural and human resources at home, on the reservation," Wetzel declared. "Let us forget about the cities and far-away places, and let's look at what is happening right at home on the Indian Reservation. The Indians are struggling with the problems of maintaining home and family and Indian ownership of Indian land."
⁷⁵
 Wetzel pledged cooperative efforts to resolve Indian problems. Rarely since World War II had Indian leaders agreed with the administration.

Other Indian interest organizations expressed friendly sentiments towards Nash. The Association on American Indian Affairs, the most vocal and devout protector of Indian welfare, approved of the report between Nash and Native Americans.
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By early 1962, Indian affairs became a topic of discussion for the Daughters of the American Revolution and other groups. The American public seemed aware of the need for reform of Indian policy. An article in the Washington Star for February 11, 1962, reported that the federal government would spend \$221 million for the 1962 fiscal year on Indians. In addition to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Indian population was receiving \$61 million of assistance from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.
⁷⁷

Throughout 1961, Commissioner Nash had visited Indian communities throughout the United States and Alaska. On March 4, 1961, he spoke before a joint meeting of the Pawnee, Ponca, Tonkawa, Kaw, and Otoe-Missouri Tribes in Ponca City, Oklahoma. The Commissioner explained the goals of his administration. "Our aim in the Bureau of Indian Affairs today are threefold: 1.) maximum Indian economic self-sufficiency, 2.) full participation of Indians in American life, and 3.) equal citizenship privileges and responsibilities." Nash then stressed the importance of Native American cultures. "We also emphasize that the Indians can retain tribal identities and much of their culture while working toward a greater adjustment and, for the further enrichment of our society, it is in our best interests to encourage them to do so." 78

Nash impressed the Indians with his optimistic view of Indian affairs. He stated there was a New Frontier for Indians too. "I am ambitious for the Bureau of Indian Affairs," he said. "I want to see it become the Indians' Service, and when my tour of duty is ended I would like to be remembered not just as another Indian commissioner but as the Indians' Commissioner. We have called our program of economic betterment, 'The New Trail.' There is one thing that is especially true about a new trail that you have not walked before and that is you need to walk it hand in hand. That is the way I hope to walk the New Trail with you." 79

Six days later Commissioner Nash addressed a delegation of about 250 Delaware, Caddo, and Wichita Indians in Anadarko, Oklahoma. The Daily Oklahoman reported that Nash was asking Congress for almost \$200 million for Indian affairs. "This was about \$700 for every Indian man, woman and child," Nash explained. 80 Federal funding would be

divided three ways. Monies would be provided for services of state, county, township, and municipal governments for Indians. Second, the management of the Indian estate of over 53 million acres of land, for which the Bureau of Indian Affairs was responsible, would receive support. And third, services pertaining to training in vocations and health care would be funded.

Attempting to improve the Indian welfare yet allowing Native Americans to retain their cultures was a difficult task. One idea was submitted to Senator Phil Hart of Michigan during March concerning the Chippewas of Watersmeet, Michigan. William E. Carroll of the Democratic National Committee of Wakefield, Michigan, wrote Hart that the Indians were having difficulty adjusting within the local community because of culture retention. "The Chippewas here still are preserving their identity in spite of their inability to adjust to the value system of our society," wrote Carroll. "I would think that a practical step in getting them off Public Welfare rolls would be to fit them into the type of work they are able to do." ⁸¹ Carroll suggested that since the Indians did excellent woodwork why not get the Forestry Division of the Agricultural Department to hire them to work in nearby Ottawa National Forest.

Nash respected Indian tradition. On April 10, 1962, the Indian Commissioner announced to the Indian Rights Association in Philadelphia that the B.I.A. would establish "a new division of economic development not only in our Washington office but in area offices and agencies all across the country. In this division we are grouping all our resource management functions--realty, soil and moisture conservation,

range management, forestry, irrigation, and roads--together with our revolving credit activities and our work in the field of industrial development. Thus we . . . can contribute directly toward the creation of a more dynamic climate of economic opportunity and growth on the reservation." ⁸² In addition he emphasized education of Indian youth and stressed cooperation of Indians and Indian organizations with the federal government to insure a more effective policy.

Some tribes remained frightened by termination. These included the Chippewas of Sokaogon Community in Minnesota. James Officer, Associate Commissioner of the B.I.A., wrote the Chairman of the Chippewas in early May, 1962 that his people need not worry. "We want you to know there is no proposal by the Bureau of the Department to terminate the Federal trust relationship with the Sokaogon Chippewa Community of Indians." ⁸³ He promised that the B.I.A. would help the Indians develop their resources.


A few tribes, on the other hand, desired termination. This was true for the Colvilles. On May 15, 1962, a hearing was conducted before the House Subcommittee of Indian Affairs on Colville termination legislation. House Resolutions 6801 and 8469 proposed the termination of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation in the state of Washington. ⁸⁴ Federal supervision and restrictions on these Indians were terminated at their request. About 8,000 Indians living in the San Francisco Bay Area were progressing well enough to terminate govern- ⁸⁵ ment services which also was done.

La Farge observed that Indian affairs improved for Native Americans during 1962. He observed that the rapport between the govern-

ment officials and Indians was beneficial for both sides in resolving problems. The President of AAIA stated that Indians were asking for more services of federal officials and in return, officials were asking for more cooperation of Indians. In this case, La Farge stated, "One thing is clear; that we are going to be harder on the present leadership, in many ways, or at least far more demanding. ⁸⁶ He stressed that now was the time for demanding more from the federal government.

In one instance Indians' demands provoked official hostility. The Chicago Tribune reported July 21, 1962, that a Crow delegation under the leadership of Robert Yellowtail confronted Interior Secretary Udall with a request for per capita payments from a claims settlement of \$9.5 million. "Mr. Udall gave us an audience on July 2," said Yellowtail. "But when we outlined our modest needs and asked for \$1,000 each from our own money for the destitute Crows over 65 and \$300 for those under, he jumped up angrily and ordered us out of the office. He shouted that we'd never get a penny out of Him." Udall was quoted as yelling, "And if you go to Capitol Hill to get a bill passed, I'll go to President ⁸⁷ Kennedy and see that he vetoes it!"

An article in the Washington Star for August 27, 1962, demanded that Native Americans "join the rest of the country and stop stagnating as museum pieces." The article stated the "average Indian was not stupid" and could very well assume his place with the rest of society instead of demanding special status and services from the federal government. ⁸⁸ The article no doubt was a reaction to escalating Indian demands. Increasingly Indians sought to remain culturally as Indians and demanded more from the federal government, and antagonism towards them increased.



However, Commissioner Nash continued advocating cooperation between Indians and federal officials. The New York Times reported on September 3, 1962, that the Interior Department recognized the importance of keeping Indian lands in the hands of Indians. In a six-day conference of the National Congress of American Indians, 75 tribes charted a unified position to resolve their problems to promote a common policy. They recognized the socio-economic malaise in the Indian community, but they pointed to another problem of equal magnitude--that of image. In literature, the cinema, and on television the Indian was portrayed as a blood thirsty savage. They claimed the stereotyped image hindered their progress as citizens.

During the termination years, the Menominees were the "model" tribe to observe. After termination, the Menominees strove to develop recreational facilities for revenue. They planned to construct a multi-million dollar camping facility and vacation area of cottages and lodges on six thousand acres of tribal land around Lake LaMotte. The project was handled by Menominee Corporation directors who projected a 15-year program in which 600 lots would be leased. Motels, winter sports facilities, and restaurants were included in the plan. Stores, three golf courses, and a \$1.5 million shopping center were also part of the grandiose plan, requiring an investment of approximately \$100 million. The tribal corporation did not have the means to make such a large investment at once, so it planned to rely on profits from initial returns on the recreational facilities.

While the Menominees appeared venturesome and willing to take risks, other tribes were hesitant and suspicious of the state governments.

R. E. Miller, Acting Director at the Aberdeen Area Office, sent a memorandum to Commissioner Nash on October 4, 1962, describing the condition of tribes in the Aberdeen area. "Tribes are confused, troubled and concerned," stated the Director. "They are worried about problems that affect individual members of their tribe. Some of them are opposed to civil jurisdiction but other members of the tribe, who perhaps do not speak the English language, are somewhat afraid. Indians, because of the general lack of knowledge concerning the operations and procedures of the state courts, fear the extension of state laws to the reservations." Miller warned, "We must be careful that the tribe does not obtain the attitude that the Bureau is trying to terminate them."⁹¹

On October 15, 1962, Commissioner Nash addressed the Governors' Interstate Indian Council at Phoenix, Arizona. The Commissioner discussed the crucial question of criminal and civil jurisdiction of the state on Indian lands. "This is a field in which we must move with great caution," Nash advised. "There are widespread complaints that Indians, when off reservations, receive more severe sentences for crimes than for non-Indians." The Commissioner recommended improved cooperation between tribal, state, and federal governments. He mentioned that House Resolution 4756 was introduced during the 87th Congress to help resolve legal discrepancies on Indian lands. "We favor the amending of Public Law 280 . . . to provide that states may assume criminal or civil jurisdiction only with the consent of the tribe occupying the particular Indian country involved." H. R. 4756 was not acted upon during the 87th Congress.⁹²

Commissioner Nash also made reference to the desires of American Indians which impressed him. "Today, the American Indian people--

and I have spent many, many hours in consultation with them on their home grounds--have told me that they desire economic development, vocational education, sound basic education, an opportunity for employment, the rights of citizenship, . . . demand equality, and improved housing." ⁹³

In spite of Nash's efforts to promote goodwill with the tribes, junior officials in the B.I.A. often antagonized Indians in day-to-day contact on reservations. Carl Whitman, Chairman of the Three Affiliated Tribes at Fort Berthold, told a conference of Area Directors in early November, 1962, that there was "a lack of understanding and sympathy ⁹⁴ between Bureau employees and tribal members."

Misunderstanding resulted in distrust and criticism of the other's actions. The tribal chairman referred to the preemptory closing of the boarding school and the hospital on his reservation. Nash attempted to reduce the paternalistic actions of the bureaucracy. In a speech on December 6, 1962, at the University of Toronto in Canada he stated, "During the present century we have been moving steadily away from all pervasive paternalism . . . toward a more wholesome respect for the human dignity of individual Indians as well as for the values of ⁹⁵ age-old tribal cultures."

On February 4, 1963, Congressman Wayne N. Aspinall of Colorado introduced House Resolution 3278 as a reform measure in Indian affairs. The bill proposed "To establish a revolving fund from which the Secretary of the Interior may make loans to finance the procurement of expert assistance by Indian tribes in cases before the Indian Claims Commission." ⁹⁶ The bill called for \$5 million for tribes to use in preparing cases for submission to the Claims Commission.

In early March, 1963, Senator Church submitted Senate Bill 1049. The bill was similar to earlier proposals aimed at resolving serious Indian problems of heirship. The Church bill proposed that "owners of not less than a 50 per centum interest in any lands, where ten or fewer persons own undivided interests, or the owners of not less than a 25 per centum interest in any land where eleven or more persons own undivided interests, where all of the undivided interests are in a trust or restricted status, may request the Secretary of the Interior . . .⁹⁷ to partition the land." In addition the Secretary of the Interior could sell the land for the best interests of the heir-owners to avoid frustrating paperwork and small insignificant lease payments to be distributed among the heirs.

On May 14, 1963, another reform measure was introduced in Congress. Congressman Berry introduced House Resolution 6279 in the House "To provide 1.) that the United States shall pay the actual cost of certain services contracted for Indians in the States of Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, Idaho, and Wisconsin; and 2.) for a more equitable apportionment between such States and the Federal Government of the cost of providing aid and assistance under the Social Security Act to Indians."⁹⁸ These services proposed to put the affected Indians on a level equal with local non-Indians.

On April 17, 1963, Commissioner Nash addressed the Daughters of the American Revolution. He complimented the organization for its long assistance and concern for Indian people. The Commissioner then stated the policy objectives that he had iterated to other organizations. "The ultimate goals toward which the Bureau of Indian Affairs is working

are threefold: 1.) maximum Indian economic self-sufficiency; 2.) full participation of Indians in American life; and 3.) equal citizenship privileges and responsibilities for Indians." ⁹⁹ He also stressed the importance of Indian education and described the progress in Indian affairs. New school facilities had been constructed and agricultural, vocational, and college education were stressed for young Indians.

In May, 1963, the Senate entertained a bill to appropriate funds to states that assumed civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indians in compliance with Public Law 280. Nebraska, the first state to implement the act, did so without federal assistance. Senator Church commented, "Nothing to my knowledge was contained in the original enactment of the Congress which provided that any State assuming jurisdiction should have the costs of that jurisdiction paid for out of the Federal Treasury." ¹⁰⁰ Discussion continued on whether or not to appropriate a sum not to exceed \$477,645 to South Dakota to properly provide services to the Indian population according to P. L. 280. Church insisted that if money was appropriated to South Dakota then other monies would have to be appropriated to every state containing Indians.

The 1960 Census recorded that there was a total of 509,147 Indians in the United States (excluding Alaska). The 14,444 Indians in Alaska pushed the total to 523,591. B.I.A. estimates for June 30, 1962, reported that 300,614 or 54 percent of the Indians and Alaska natives in the United States lived on reservations and an additional 66,565 Indians and Alaska natives lived near reservations. These figures indicated the Bureau of Indian Affairs provided services to 367,179 Native Americans. ¹⁰¹

On May 6, 1963, La Farge presented "The Indian Frontier, An Appraisal" as the annual address to the Association on American Indian

Affairs. He criticized Congress and the Kennedy administration for not doing more for Indians. He noted the importance of the increase in the Indian Revolving Loan Fund to \$20 million, but it was inadequate. "There has been nothing in the way of legislation as dramatic or fundamental as the Indian Reorganization Act," said the President of AAIA.¹⁰²

La Farge was the most vocal spokesperson for Indian interests. Undoubtedly his leadership in AAIA influenced Indian leaders to demand more from the friendly Kennedy administration. La Farge concluded "We view the last two years. We see the men who have been placed in office are indeed the friends of the original inhabitants of this country. We see that they confront many obstacles, and that some they have already overcome. We are for them. We are left with the feeling that perhaps they are still a little too kind, a trifle too mild to change the direction of a bureaucracy that has many resemblances to a glacier."¹⁰³

La Farge was an unwavering champion of Indian rights. While other concerned individuals lost interest, he devoutly continued his crusade to reform Indian conditions. "His was a work of love, not through pity, but because of the respect he had for a people he found to be 'fine, brave, loyal and intelligent.' The Indian in return respected and depended on a friend, the likes of whom they may not see again."¹⁰⁴ Undoubtedly the leadership of Oliver La Farge helped spark the Red Power Movement.

During July, 1963, Nash visited Indian groups in the Pacific Northwest. The Yakima Herald reported Nash's disapproval of a bill to terminate the Yakima Indians. Congressman Thor Tollefson of Washington had introduced House Resolution 4917 earlier in March. "The department

(Bureau of Indian Affairs) unequivocally rejected the bill as it related to the Colville Indians," said Nash. "And I believe at that time (the Bureau of Indian Affairs) rejected such a bill applying to the Yakimas." 105
The Commissioner was convinced the Indians were not ready for termination.

During a tour of Indian country, Nash visited the Umatilla and Warm Springs Reservations in Oregon. While visiting the Spokane Reservation in Washington, Nash was made an honorary member of the tribe. 106

During a discussion with the Umatillas, Nash was bombarded with complaints. The Indians cited charges from land problems to allegations that B.I.A. regulations made Indians "prisoners of war." While listening, Nash nodded in agreement. He then pledged to report the Umatillas' case to the Area Redevelopment Administration to alleviate their problems. 107
He specified that the Indian Bureau was reluctant, however, to see the trust status removed from some tribes for fear of exploitation.

While talking to members of the Portland City Club, Nash stated that the Indian reservations in the Pacific Northwest were in better shape than overcrowded ones in the Plains area. The Indian Commissioner spoke of the progress that the B.I.A. had made in the last two years. "As Commissioner, I welcome the awakening of the national conscience and the spotlight that is focused on the Bureau of Indian Affairs," Nash said. 108
An expansion of classroom seats was underway for Indian education, and the B.I.A. asked Congress for an increase from \$7.5 to \$12 million for vocational training, so that more than 3,900 Indian trainees could enroll in vocational schools. Great strides had been made in Indian housing as well. The Commissioner asserted that the Indian Bureau was not satisfied with the progress as more could be done.

Indian affairs to the south in California became somewhat volatile when the federal government tried to compensate three Indian groups for the seizure of their lands in the 1800s. The Los Angeles Times reported in September that the Pitt River Indians rejected a \$29.1 million offer. ¹⁰⁹ All three groups, which included the Mission Indians of Southern California and another group known as the Indians of California, had to consent to the offer. The Indians' refusal was indicative of their independence, although the reason why the Pitt River Indians voted down the offer was not clear. Speculation suggested a resurgence of tribal desire for independence which reflected the Red Power spirit that tribes were beginning to experience.

Indians were encouraged to act independently as they were reminded of past injustices and their oppression motivated the Red Power to strike back. To many Indians the enemy was the United States government.

On September 13, 1963, Attorney General Robert Kennedy addressed the National Congress of American Indians at Bismark, North Dakota. He reminded the Indians of their past and spoke of the injustice done to them. Kennedy said of the Indian, "He may be technically free, but he is the victim of social and economic oppressions that hold him in bondage. He is all too likely to become the victim of his own proud anger, his own frustrations, and--the most humiliating of all--the victim of racial discrimination in his own land." He then spoke optimistically of the future for Native Americans and listed the ten campaign promises that the President pledged to apply as a basis to improve the livelihood of Indians. In closing he said, "I believe we will see the dawning of it

in our own lifetime, and that its full light will come to shine on our
 110
 children."

During the course of the reform movement to improve the livelihood of Native Americans, tribes were aware of exploitation. A friend wrote Nash on October 1, 1963, to inform him of the disturbing news that the Menominees might lose their land. An attorney and a group of investors were interested in investing in the Menominee land after they learned it might be available to the public in about a year. Speculation of the Indians losing their land was based on a decision of the Wisconsin Investment Board. "It appears . . . all too true and that the white man, as late as 1964, is about to separate the Indian from one
 111
 of his few remaining parcels of land." There seemed "little concerted effort among Wisconsin government officials to forestall the loss of the Indian lands." The Menominee situation continued as a struggle of the Indians trying to retain their lands after the recreational construction program failed.

The largest loss of Indian lands during the Kennedy years was due to the construction of the Kinzua Dam. Federal officials seized a considerable portion of the Seneca Reservation of New York. The Kinzua Dam controversy began during the late Eisenhower administration. Although the Corps of Engineers initiated plans for construction, the Senecas did not find out until 1956 that the United States government proposed to build a \$114 million dam affecting the southernmost of three
 112
 New York Seneca reservations. Construction of the dam across the Allegheny River meant the removal of 600 to 800 Indians, and violation
 113
 of a treaty with the Senecas signed in 1794. The Senecas fought the

Kinzua Dam Project in the courts, but they lost their case in 1959 in the U. S. Supreme Court. Basil G. Williams, President of the Seneca Nation called upon President Kennedy for help to prevent construction of the dam. "The Seneca Nation asks you . . . to make an independent investigation . . . and that in the interim you direct that work be halted on the authorized project. Only in this way, Mr. President, will you uphold the sacred honor of the United States." Kennedy was not able to save the Senecas' land, although they were compensated for their losses. 114

The Kinzua Dam controversy was one of several instances that cast a pall over the Kennedy administration's handling of Indian affairs. A memorandum on October 18, 1963, from the area director at Aberdeen, South Dakota, to local superintendents emphasized the importance of image of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. "Our efforts should be directed primarily toward developing the correct image of the Bureau of Indian Affairs," stated the memorandum. "To accomplish our mission to the Native people, to do a professional job, to take pride in what we are doing and to build and maintain a true and proper image of the Bureau of Indian Affairs . . . we need to weld together into a visionary, dynamic and responsive organization of which we can be proud." 115

The Bureau of Indian Affairs under the Kennedy administration experienced the best rapport with Native Americans since World War II. Its image with the Native American population reflected dedicated concern to assist Indian people and reform impoverished living conditions. Simultaneously public opinion at large supported the efforts of the B.I.A. in the early 1960s, thus approving and revitalizing a reform movement of a "New Frontier" for American Indians.

After the Second World War, as Native Americans became more educated, they became aware that former traditional ways were no longer reliable. The Native American desire for reform had great support from federal officials including Nash while Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Senator Church as Chairman of the Indian Subcommittee on Indian Affairs in the Senate. Secretary of the Interior Udall and his Under Secretary, Carver, were also dedicated Indian reformers. Undoubtedly the leadership of Nash while Indian Commissioner was significant in promoting effective federal supervision of Indian affairs. In the same light, Nash possessed genuine concern for helping Indians as did Collier.

Citizens like La Farge were also deeply involved in the reform effort. He was long-time president of the Association on American Indian Affairs and a prominent influential force in motivating American Indians and their interests. He enlightened them of the need to improve their general livelihood. Most of all, La Farge was a champion of Indian rights. Non-Indians and federal actions with the approval of President John Kennedy inspired the Red Power Movement to uplift the destitute Red Man to social respectability.

Of utmost importance, effective Indian leadership was responsible for the movement of Red Power. Native politicians like W. W. Keeler and John Crow ignited fires of Indian reform throughout the nation and Indian youth, who felt oppressed during the 1950s while remembering the termination years and accompanying frustrations, led the Indian crusade. Additional support from Indian organizations such as the Association on American Indian Affairs, Arrow, and the Indian Rights Association wholeheartedly supported the pan-Indian movement. The National Congress of

American Indians and the Indian Youth Conferences were important advocates for Indian nationalism, of striving for restoration of Indian pride and protection of Native American interests.

Young educated and frustrated Indian youths of the 1950s, like Mel Thom and Clyde Warrior, were the primary advocates of activism for Indian rights. They remembered oppression, degradation, and discrimination during the termination years, and their bitter memories created a seedbed of hostile Indian outcry--founding the Red Power Movement of the 1960s. Unquestionably Red Power comprised a distinctively separate movement, and was clearly not a bandwagon effect of the civil rights movement of the mid-1960s. Sporadic nationwide activism reflected via Indian radicalism generated apathetic feelings toward alleviating the plight of the Red Man. Ironically, while conditions began to improve and the public listened to Indian protests, Indians became increasingly strident, virtually militant. They demanded more. Indian intellectual activism, expressed through the words of native scholars like Vine Deloria, added to the growing flames of Red Power until Indian protest became the misdirected militantism of the American Indian Movement during the 1970s.

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